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Let Nato bridge the gap between fact and fiction

For thirty years Nato has taken fiction for fact. At Council meetings the toughest issues are invariably discussed in the boldest terms, then faint-hearted decisions taken (and usually not implemented).

In retrospect the Lisbon Nato round must have been a very caricature of strategic decision-making. Nearly 100 divisions were grandly anticipated, yet not even a third are in being.

This figure was held to be essential, yet for nearly twenty years Nato has behaved as though it had at its command a substantial combination of armed forces on the classical pattern.

Forward defence planning has never been in keeping with the military situation Nato brasshats faced. To this day there has been no change on this score, and the spring 1979 Brussels Nato conference has, like its predecessors, failed to bring about one.

Nato Ministers face a challenge that saps their strength and requires them to exercise their political understanding to the full.

This challenge is the trend, fashionable in the West, to more disarmament and even more arms control.

Details of the Warsaw Pact's arms

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Bonn garden show opened at last after decade of headline-hitting mishaps

build-up are no match for this trend, no matter how detailed they may be. Nor are details of the offensive outlook predominant in the Red Army and the continual modernisation of the East bloc's nuclear and conventional arsenal.

The powers that be stand no chance of convincing left-wingers in their respective parliaments that Western counter-measures are indispensable.

So they will continue to operate with veiled formulas: communiqués that say no and mean yes and vice-versa.

Defence Ministers will be happy to reach agreement by autumn on a deadline for a tentative preliminary decision on modernisation and stationing of tactical field weapons.

No-one expects them to set about implementing the project before the

year after next. So the current US bid seems destined not to lead to action on improving Nato infrastructure at long last.

The United States wants to stockpile equipment, arms and material for five more divisions in Europe, which would entail the provision of depots and barracks.

General Alexander Haig jr, outgoing Nato C-in-C, has made some headway, but if US reservists are to be airlifted over in larger numbers to be available faster in an emergency, much more must be done on the infrastructure front.

Nato is dependent on US strategic reinforcements. Existing conventional forces cannot serve as an effective deterrent, let alone go on to the forward defensive.

These tenets are corroborated by a study of fighting strength which reveals that only the US Seventh Army and the Bonn Bundeswehr are adequately armed and equipped with technically sophisticated weapons systems.

There is even a distinct gap between these two, with the United States boasting more tanks and artillery, more electronics and air support per division.

Britain is poorly equipped. Officially its contribution to Nato consists of three divisions, but only four brigades are in being. Because of crew shortages not all the BAOR's 550 tanks are operational.

Finland's Kekkonen hopes to boost trade with Bonn

Bad news was relayed to President Urho Kekkonen of Finland on the day he left the Federal Republic, but for once the Germans were not to blame.

Presidents Carter and Brezhnev are to sign Salt II in Vienna. America and Russia began their strategic arms limitation talks in Helsinki in 1969.

Helsinki also hosted the final session of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, becoming a byword for détente.

This time the Finnish capital will miss out on an opportunity of servicing peace policy, which President Kekkonen must greatly regret.

His country's détente role earned Finland not only prestige; it also endowed Helsinki, with status symbols that might be expected to consolidate Finnish security.

Yet the Finnish head of state could still feel his five-day state visit to the Federal Republic of Germany had been satisfactory.

He came, in his own words, to refurbish the view of Finland prevalent in West Germany and to eliminate what he



Helmut Schmidt and Margaret Thatcher cope good-humouredly with a technical hitch at their London press conference (Photo: Sven Simon)

Helmut Schmidt impressed by Mrs Thatcher

This weakness is particularly striking in comparison with the number of tanks attached to a single US tank division, 650. Britain also has fewer guns per artillery unit than anyone else in Nato.

The Belgians and Dutch are also poorly armed. The Dutch, for instance, have two divisions to fulfil the role allotted to three.

The Dutch army has 470 West German Leopard and 340 British Centurion tanks, yet only 500 in all are immediately available.

They have scant artillery fire power
Continued on page 5

Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and his Cabinet colleagues were most impressed by Margaret Thatcher, Britain's first woman Prime Minister.

Only a week after moving in to Number Ten Mrs Thatcher bore witness to detailed and thorough acquaintance with complex problems.

It was a credit to the British tradition of Ministry officials keeping abreast with and preparing for Opposition policies during a general election campaign.

The most important outcome of the talks was the personal understanding reached by Social Democrat Herr Schmidt and Conservative Mrs Thatcher.

The Chancellor was evidently gratified by her precise and down-to-earth manner of discussing problems, and this atmospheric rapprochement between the two heads of government is important.

On points of fact all they agreed on was the defence of Western Europe, détente and international economic problems.

On the Common Market the difference between Labour and Conservative is one of style; both call for change.

Yet the Bonn delegation was happy to note that the new British government was the first for many years to reaffirm its commitment to consolidation of the European Community.

The other Eight may find it easier to meet Britain half-way if British representatives in Brussels abandon the jackhammer approach in favour of a more constructive role.

EEC farm subsidies are getting out of hand, much to Bonn's chagrin, and Bonn is no less upset on this score than is Whitehall.

Fritz Beer

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 May 1979)

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 12 May 1979)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Salt II, six years in the making, paves way for European role at Salt III

It took more than six years of tough bargaining between America and the Soviet Union before Washington felt ready to announce on 9 May that the Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement (Salt II) was ready for signature.

Presidents Jimmy Carter and Leonid Brezhnev will sign the treaty in Vienna in June. Gratifying as this news might be, the problems will begin anew when it comes to negotiating Salt III.

Salt II is to include for the first time medium-range nuclear weapons, the so-called grey zone weapons, threatening primarily Europe.

No until early May did it become obvious that agreement on Salt II had been reached at last. The world had grown used to premature reports from Washington and Moscow that final agreement was imminent.

But this very give and take lately demonstrates the problems that confronted the Salt negotiators, especially verification and final agreement on the control mechanisms needed to enforce the treaty.



Salt II also highlights the problem of arms limitation treaties: the danger of technology being faster than the negotiators.

While talks are still in progress on limiting existing weapon systems, both sides develop new weapons to which the treaty does not apply. In other words, the arms race is simply shifted onto a higher technological plane.

This is made obvious by a comparison of the 1972 Salt I and the present Salt II. Salt I limited only the number of carriers because Washington assumed that Moscow would not be able to develop multiple warhead rockets in the foreseeable future.

But exactly this happened. Thus the treaty brought under control the number of missiles but not the number of nuclear warheads, the decisive factor.

Salt II is more explicit. It not only stipulates the number of carriers but also how many systems, be they missiles, aircraft or submarines, may be equipped with multiple warheads and how many ICBMs and Cruise missiles either side may have.

Both sides were again permitted to develop new weapons. As a result Salt II is not a disarmament treaty but an agreement to maintain the strategic balance between the two superpowers.

But Salt II does contain an important rider, particularly for Europe, which stipulates that negotiations on Salt III must begin immediately after the signing of Salt II.

These talks are to include the grey zone weapons, medium-range rockets threatening only Europe without being able to reach the American continent or the interior of the Soviet Union.

For this if for no other reason, Europe is particularly interested in taking part in Salt III negotiations. The United States has already intimated its agree-

ment, and the Soviet Union is expected to follow suit.

If this happened, an important bridge would link Salt with the key Vienna MBFR talks. Salt II is in itself no reason for rejoicing; but it does give rise to certain optimism.

Honest desire for flexibility on both sides

Only the faint-hearted despair who not all objectives are met at the first attempt and when life without excessive military potential cannot be achieved immediately.

Arms limitation and disarmament policy presuppose the honest wish of both sides to make rigid fronts more flexible. They do not mean obfuscation of ideologies nor are they tantamount to abolishing national security interests.

There is no denying that both Moscow and Washington have this honest wish. Therefore Salt II is an important signal for the future, and it remains to be hoped that the US Senate will interpret it as such and pass the treaty.

In any event, a major obstacle on route to genuine disarmament has been surmounted with Salt II.

Ulrich Mackensen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 May 1979)

■ HOME AFFAIRS

Free Democrats reappraise security and civil defence at Münster

Defence policy is controversial again for the first time since the decision to rearm and join Nato. The three aspects of military security which have aroused public interest recently are:

1. Plans within Nato to counter the superiority of the Warsaw Pact countries by large-scale production of the neutron bomb.

2. Criticism by Herbert Wehner, leader of the SPD in the Bundestag, of what he considers too-slow progress by Bonn diplomats at the MBFR talks in Vienna.

3. Wehner's provocative thesis that the Soviet Union's military strength is defensive.

Against this background, interest in the FDP's defence policy congress in Münster was greater than that normally shown in such specialist meetings. There was considerable interest in:

1. How FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who as Minister of Foreign Affairs is co-responsible for this country's defence policy, would respond to Wehner's theses in his first programmatic speech after his long illness.

2. How the congress would achieve its declared aim of "underlining that there is a specifically Liberal viewpoint on security in general and defence in particular," in the words of FDP general secretary Günter Verheugen.

3. What would come of the open dialogue of Liberals, defence experts and members of the public.

After the first day of the meeting the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* headline read: "Genscher disagrees with Schmidt and Wehner." And most of the dailies seemed to agree with *Münstersche Zeitung's* view that Genscher had clearly repudiated Wehner's defensive theory. Had a wedge been driven between the two coalition parties on defence?

Reality was, as usual, more complex and more complicated than these headlines would lead us to believe. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, clearly trying to appear powerful after his recent illness, strictly avoided a direct confrontation with Wehner.

He did not mention Wehner's name once in his 40-minute speech. Genscher attempted to define West Germany's defence policy not in the restricted and restricting terms of East and West. Instead he tried to put it in a world context:

"Active defence policy must contribute to the peaceful solution of conflicts not just in one region but in other parts of the world and it must also contribute towards a solution of the problems which arise there."

Genscher said that North-South polarity had "an eminently significant, peace-securing mission."

Genscher defined security policy as "defence policy and détente policy; a policy of eliminating the causes of conflict, and solving conflicts, a policy of constant partnership balancing out of interests, based on the principle of equality."

He said, "equality not superiority, parity not disparity, are prerequisites of a defence policy based not on hopes but on realities."

Like many military men, including former Inspector-General of the Bundeswehr, Harald Wust, who is now FDP

adviser on defence, Genscher accused the Soviet Union of violating these principles.

Its policies were "directed at gaining zones of influence and exporting its system." The Soviet Union pursued its policy of expansion with all means, including military means. Angola and Cambodia, not mentioned, were meant.

In Europe, the Soviet Union had "dramatically" increased in quality and in quantity the Warsaw Pact's already clear lead over Nato in medium-range (i.e. 1,000 to 5,500 km) nuclear missiles.

As the Warsaw Pact conventional forces were also clearly superior numerically to those of Nato (59 divisions to 28, three tanks to every one in Nato), the East's military capacity far exceeded what was necessary for defence purposes. Here was the "qualitative leap" from defensive to offensive capacity.

Genscher did not want to suggest that the Soviet leadership was now planning an attack on West Europe, but he added that "responsible defence policy" should not be based only on "the presumed intentions of the other side" it must also take its own capacities into consideration.

The military superiority of the Warsaw Pact created a "feeling of being threatened" and thus had a "destabilising effect," Genscher said. "Military power can have a political effect even when this is not intended."

Genscher accused the East Bloc of trying to maintain existing disparities on a smaller scale in their demands for equal reductions of troops on both sides at the MBFR negotiations in Vienna.

He rejected the view that the West

had failed to respond to offers by the East, describing this as a "prejudice."

The majority of the congress shared Genscher's view of the overall defence situation. The opinions of those, such as a number of Young Liberals, who relativised the assessment of Soviet military strength and had a more differentiated view of Soviet foreign policy intentions were noted, but somewhat reluctantly.

FDP defence spokesman Jürgen W. Möllemann said that détente and defence policy were two equal pillars, but this profession failed to convince. There was no sign of any initiative, to activate, or reactivate, détente, disarmament or arms controls at the Münster congress.

The FDP is clearly leaving the battlefield on this vital, long-term aspect of German policy to its partner the SPD. It has attempted to establish its own independent position by warning against "détente euphoria" in the SPD and "the cold war mentality" in the CDU/CSU Opposition.

The FDP is relying heavily on the persuasiveness of its rational and moderate approach — an understandable attitude in a party which almost foundered because of the leading role it played in Ostpolitik. Understandable, but not very inspiring: reason without imagination!

The FDP played a pacemaking role in its Münster congress in another sphere of security policy, that of civil defence. Gerhard Baum, who is as Minister of the Interior is responsible for civil defence, lived up to his reputation as a new broom who sweeps clean by criticising the overemphasis on the military aspect of defence.

"A defence policy based on the two

legs of military and civil defence cannot work if only one of these two legs is trained."

Baum now wants to take swift action to 'ar the muscular dystrophy of civil defence' and 'especially of measures to protect the civilian population.'

Outmoded "full protection" concept of politicians, administrators and citizens will be corrected by realistic "minimal protection" plans, ineffective planning and leadership structures will be reformed.

More money than hitherto will be made available for shelters and other forms of anti-disaster measures.

Baum believes that honesty towards the citizens and realistic information about what can be done are prerequisites for a new beginning. Civil protection could not "guarantee survival" but it could give a chance of survival.

Baum said the individual citizen should take as many precautions as possible on his private initiative. The snow disaster in Schleswig-Holstein demonstrated how necessary this was.

Gerhart Baum has proposed a whole series of measures to make up for the deficits in civil defence. One drastic statistic shows how serious the situation is: in the event of a disaster there would be shelters for only 1.8 million of the 62 million inhabitants of this country.

Scepticism was prevalent in the discussion which followed Baum's speech. It was not due to the worry expressed by experts that increased civil defence activity could be interpreted by the East bloc as a preparation for war but to lethargy of the administrative apparatus and lack of interest of the public, who preferred not to think about the dangers than take measures to meet them.

It will be interesting to see whether the entire FDP supports the wide-ranging, and certainly worthwhile civil defence plans Baum proposes. Still, in this aspect of defence policy at least, the Liberals did present an independent profile in Münster.

Günter Geschke

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 6 May 1979)

Bombs at the border, verbal fire and brimstone from the PLO's man in Bonn

It was highly explosive luggage that two Arabs arrested 26 April on crossing the border from Austria at Passau carried in their rented car.

The Bavarian border police found a hundredweight of plastic explosive, detonators and fuses specially prepared for time bombs. A portable radio contained nine passports, six Mauritanian, an Argentinian a Lebanese and a Cypriot.

On the following Sunday two more Palestinians were nabbed on crossing the border from Holland at Eilen. They carried Iranian passports though the name of one of them tallied with the personal data and the photograph in one of the passports found in the Passau grab.

At almost the same time West Berlin police arrested two Lebanese who had a dozen electric detonators in their possession. Another Lebanese, now a German citizen, was arrested a short while later.

He had on him the key to a railroad locker in which the police found 18 kilos of explosives and five wristwatches prepared as timing devices for bombs.

Were Palestinian terrorists about to make true their recent threats?

In an interview with the illustrated weekly *Stern*, the head of the Palestinian terrorist organisation Black September, Abu Iyyad, had intimated that his kamikaze commandos might again engage in punitive actions on an international scale.

The threat clearly included the Federal Republic of Germany whose policy, he said, was anti-Palestinian.

The unofficial representative of the PLO in Bonn, Abdalla Frangi, has made it absolutely clear that this country's favourable attitude towards the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty could prove detrimental to German security.

Frangi carries an Algerian diplomatic passport and is officially a member of the Arab League's Bonn office.

He greatly embarrassed the Bonn government in 1977 when, at a public function in Berlin, he suggested that the

only solution to the Middle East problem would be the elimination of the Zionist, expansionist and fascist state of Israel.

Indirectly, Bonn owed this embarrassment to a Darmstadt court which, in 1974, refused to uphold a deportation order issued against Frangi in connection with the 1972 massacre during the Munich Olympics.

Abdalla Frangi, who is married to a German, is now firmly established in Bonn's political scene.

Though his dream of gaining the status of official representative of a PLO recognised by Bonn is still far from materialising, this does not detract from his actual role.

Anyone seeking contact with the PLO in Bonn knows that the former guerrillero is his man, much to the chagrin of the Israelis.

They officially ignore him but have unofficially repeatedly expressed displeasure at Frangi being permitted publicly to preach military action in the Middle East, undeterred by the German authorities.

Frangi, who speaks German fluently, uses as his headquarters the Palestinian Information Office in Bonn's Kaiserstrasse, only a stone's throw from the Chancellery.

The Information Office, staffed by both Palestinians and Germans, is a registered society whose function it is to "inform the German public about problems and current developments in Palestine."

The organisation publishes the weekly *Palestina Bulletin*. The mimeographed six-page news-sheet contains official PLO agreements, news and commentar-

ies of the Palestinian news agency *Wafa* and reports on pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist events in Germany.

The material is most avidly reprinted by the various publications of the extreme left like *Arbeiterkampf* and *Kämpfende Jugend*. But the Palestinian PR men have also been successful with leftist media of a higher standard.

The official information organ of the PLO, *Palestine*, a professionally made magazine openly propagating violence, is distributed by the Information Office in English, French and Arabic, the German edition having been discontinued.

The Information Office also operates as a mail-order house for Palestinian books, brochures, postcards, calendars and posters. In addition it sells embroidery, mother-of-pearl inlay work, Palestinian headgear, leather goods, etc.

Apart from its PR work, the office also serves as an information centre and political and intellectual headquarters of the 20,000 Palestinians living in this country.

These former organisations, like *Generalunion Palästinensischer Arbeiter* (GUPA) — general union of Palestinian workers — were banned after the Munich massacre.

It took until June 1978 for the courts to uphold the ban. In their summary the judges said these organisations posed a threat to the Federal Republic of Germany's security because they supported armed revolution by means of hostage-taking, skyjacking and similar acts of violence.

Frangi's Information Office has nothing to do with such reprehensible acts. Security experts believe that due to their cooperation with Palestinian terror

groups, the training at their hands and the hideouts in the Middle East, German terrorists have an adequate infrastructure and do not depend on help from the semi-official PLO representative office.

Moreover, cooperation developed recently between the PLO and the Federal Bureau of Criminal Investigation (BKA) which helped the PLO solve the fatal bomb attack on Anfat's closest collaborator, Ali Hassan Salameh, in which a German woman is said to have been involved.

Speculation is rife on whether the latest arrests in Passau and Eilen were manipulated by the Israeli secret service to put a spanner in the works of cooperation between the PLO and the BKA.

In any event, there can be no doubt that the Israelis are greatly liked by the recent contacts in Beirut.

Ludger Stein-Ruegenberg

(Deutsche Zeitung, 11 May 1979)

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Farm Minister resigns over eyesore autobahn that would blight Ruhr nature reserve

North Rhine-Westphalian Minister of Food, Agriculture and Forestry Diether Deneke resigned recently in protest against his Cabinet's decision to build an autobahn from Olpe to Bad Hersfeld.

This autobahn, planned ten years ago, would go straight through the Rothaargebirge Nature Park, one of the few remaining intact wooded regions in this country, an almost indispensable area of country near the heavily industrialised Rhine-Ruhr area.

Deneke, whose brief included the environment, fought vainly in the Cabinet against the building of this huge strip of concrete and finally drew the consequences of his defeat.

Of the many autobahns planned and built recently, the A 4 is certainly the most superfluous. Even the most generous addition of all the possible and hoped-for advantages this autobahn could bring cannot outweigh the sum of the known disadvantages.

The argument of "guaranteeing jobs," which has been hackneyed to the point of ridiculousness, will not do. Advantages and disadvantages scarcely play a part in this kind of planning.

Ten years ago, in the general car and autobahn fever, technocrats drew an op-



tically pleasing arrangement of lines on the map of this country and they are now sticking to it — as if all the bitter lessons of the destructive effects of autobahns on the countryside and the region had not been learnt.

Planning has begun and goes on like an avalanche. Occasionally, politicians promise to reconsider self-critically. Even Premier Johannes Rau did so in his government statement. But who can (or wants to) stop an avalanche?

It is not the continuing irrationality of decisions once made so much as the prompt reinterpretation of Deneke's motives for resigning which gives us pause here.

It is said that the Deneke, the senior Minister in the Düsseldorf Cabinet, was annoyed about the difficult coalition partner the FDP, thought Johannes Rau lacked the qualities of a leader or did not get on with his Cabinet colleagues.

No-one could believe that the Minister resigned simply and solely for the reasons he had stated.

This tells us something about the state of the SPD/FDP coalition in Düsseldorf but it speaks volumes of the importance of the protection of the environment in public debate.

It is inconceivable that a Minister could resign over an environmental issue, there must be more to it.

Indeed there is more behind it. Secretly but assiduously politicians, led by two Land governments in the south, are going about dismantling the regulations for the protection of the environment.

Higher acceptable levels of noise pollution, air and water pollution, less strict regulations on the protection of nature and the countryside could help — especially in the Ruhr, with its structural weaknesses.

Anyone who insists on the protection of the environment in this situation, can quickly acquire a reputation for pig-headedness.

Sometimes a Minister can achieve more by resigning than by a tough but fruitless battle in the Cabinet. Let us hope this will happen in this case: the Rothaargebirge and environmental protection in general would certainly benefit if it did.

Harst Bieber

(Die Zeit, 11 May 1979)

■ PEOPLE

Havemann, the man they could not gag

The East Berlin authorities have now lifted the two-and-a-half-year house arrest on East Berlin regime critic Professor Robert Havemann, 68. However, Havemann still faces charges on alleged currency offences.

Robert Havemann has always been inventive in breaking total isolation and establishing contact with the outside world. The East Berlin dissident, under house arrest since November 1976, has proved this by managing to smuggle tape recordings to the West.

This ability also stood him in good stead 35 years ago as a prisoner of the Third Reich in the jail of Brandenburg-Görden while awaiting execution.

Not only did he succeed in building a fine short-wave radio receiver that enabled him to receive foreign news but he also issued a daily news sheet (circulation two) in which he gave a summary of the news.

The newspaper was passed on among the prisoners — primarily members of communist resistance cells of which he was a member.

It is not known whether the East German leader Erich Honecker, who was sentenced in 1935 to ten years imprisonment and was one of the inmates of Brandenburg-Görden jail, was one of the readers.

Havemann, whose execution had been postponed twice in 1944/45 because he was adding the war effort by engaging in important research on behalf of the armament office, has never commented on the attitude and conduct of his fellow prisoner, Honecker.

The son of a teacher, born in Munich in 1910, Havemann joined the Communist Party of Germany while still a student of chemistry in 1932. Despite his dismissal from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry in 1933 he was able to continue his research career until 1943.

That year marked both his professorship at Berlin University and his death sentence by Hitler's notorious "People's Court" as co-founder and leading member of the anti-fascist resistance group European Union.

After the war he became the administrative head of the Berlin Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and co-founder of the Cultural Society. As a West Berliner, he joined the newly-founded SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) in 1946. A year later the Americans dismissed him from his post at the Institute because he was suspected of spying for the Soviet Union. This was followed three years later by his dismissal as department head at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry in Berlin-Dahlem because of his firm stand against the construction of the hydrogen bomb by America.

Havemann went to East Berlin where he was appointed professor at the Humboldt University and director of the Institute for Physical Chemistry.

At that time he took the party line, becoming a member of the Volkskammer (East Germany's parliament), a capacity in which he served from 1950 to 1963.

The anti-fascist and communist Havemann, who has labelled himself a "German Marxist" and who has made it clear that he considers "the first socialist German state the historically better one



Robert Havemann

(Photo: dpa) and with a more promising future", gradually came into conflict with the rigidly Stalinistic communist party.

In a lecture on "Scientific Aspects of Philosophical Problems" in the winter semester 1963/64, attended by more than 1,000 students, he advocated democratic socialism and personal freedom.

In May 1964 he was expelled from the SED and stripped of his university post for "continuous anti-party conduct." Contrary to the statutes of that organisation, he was also struck from the list of members of the East Berlin Academy of Science.

Ever since, this irascible and unyielding dissident — he has been living on a government pension as a victim of fascism since 1966 — has managed time and again to state publicly what many East Germans think. This is why he is now to be muzzled once and for all.

Peter Jochen Winters
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 4 May 1979)

As inspector of the navy (chief of staff), Vice Admiral Günter Luther now heads his branch of the armed forces. But this is not the last station in his career.

It is no secret that he is tipped to become Nato deputy commander-in-chief when General Schmückle retires. But the decision does not rest with the Bonn defence minister. The appointment requires Nato approval.

In any event, Defence Minister Hans Apel's predecessor, Georg Leber, agreed with our allies that this post should go to a German. It would be most unusual, therefore, if this did not happen.

Vice Admiral Luther is splendidly suited to this post, his English being as good as his German. Moreover, his personal ties with the navy personnel of our allies are very close.

As inspector of the navy he would bring to the new post the authority of a man used to making decisions. His unusual military career also makes him particularly suitable. Vice Admiral Luther is both a sailor and an airman, having had experience in both branches of the armed forces, though he has never commanded a ship. But he has served on board.

As a jet pilot he not only flew planes but also gathered operative experience in air warfare as commander of the fleet air arm. He attributes a central role to the air force in any naval conflict.

But what matters at the moment is to lead the navy into a new future by modernising weaponry systems.

The frigate is to play a key role in this context. Vice Admiral Luther considers the switchover to the Frigate 122

Hilda Heinemann, widow of former President, dies in Essen

One of Hilda Heinemann's last public appearances took place, almost unnoticed, in an oppressive atmosphere. The widow of the late President Gustav Heinemann was among the spectators at the Düsseldorf Majdanek trial.

During an adjournment, she was seen looking after a witness from Israel who had testified on her experience in the concentration camp and was close to collapse.

During her husband's term in office, Hilda Heinemann was not the usual type of first lady, spending her time at functions and ceremonies.

Born in 1896 in Bremen — her father was a merchant, her mother the daughter of a clergyman in Berne — she studied German, history and theology.

As a student in Marburg she met the young jurist Gustav Heinemann whom she married in 1926, when they moved to Essen.

Like her husband, Hilda Heinemann remained a protagonist of the Confessing Church during the Third Reich.

The war, in the course of which their house was partially destroyed, forced the Heinemanns and their three daughters to move.

After the war, Herr Heinemann became mayor of Essen (1946 to 1949), at the same time holding office as North Rhine-Westphalia's justice minister from 1947 to 1948.

In 1949, when her husband transferred his activities to Bonn, Hilda Heinemann remained in Essen.

In March 1969, when the former Bonn justice minister was elected president, his wife decided to move to



Hilda Heinemann

(Photo: dpa) Bonn's Villa Hammerschmidt for the duration of his term of office.

Like her husband, Hilda Heinemann though outwardly cool and aloof, was full of warmth and sympathy for the needs of others. She was a dependable woman who had the courage of her conviction.

Until the summer of 1974, when her husband's term of office expired, she decided not to stand for another term, Hilda Heinemann was chairman of the *Müttergenesungswerk* (an organisation providing holidays for housewives).

She also became a patron of *Amnesty International* and *Deutscher Frauenring* (a women's organisation).

Much of her work was devoted to

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Admiral Luther in line for top Nato job



Vice-Admiral Günter Luther

(Photo: Sven Simon)

as a test case. If this succeeds without technical difficulties it will be considered proof of the high moral and professional quality of both leadership and men.

There is, however, one aspect which he views with concern: the more sophisticated and modern the navy, the more abstract the profession of the seaman.

More automation — which is inevitable — means less humanity in the soldier's lives.

As a result, he feels that he must demand of all officers that they stop the decline of human values among the men. While Admiral Tirpitz demanded that sailors be "manipulated" to become part of a machine, Vice Admiral Luther says that man comes first and the machine second.

The vice admiral has always been the youngest in any rank he held. Due to his ambition and sense of duty plus the pleasure he derives from his work he climbed the ladder of success in leaps and bounds.

Born in 1922, he is one of the "over" of 1939. He served on a training vessel under sail, as a gunnery officer and as a navy flier.

The end of the war came for him in 1944 while serving as a paratrooper in the Ardennes.

Since he joined the Bundeswehr he has been resisting a transfer to the *Führungsakademie* (leadership academy). As he rose in rank so did recognition of his work.

When the post of inspector-general of the Bundeswehr became vacant last December, Vice Admiral Luther was short-listed.

He has so far not commented on his possible appointment to the Supreme Headquarters of Nato, talking instead only about retirement in terms of the future: "When I take off my uniform for good I want to study history at Kiel University."

Adelbert Weinstein
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 4 May 1979)

■ ENERGY POLICY

Nuclear power puts Schmidt in a spot: is the answer blowing in the wind?

Helmut Schmidt, in his five years as Chancellor, has relied most of all on his own power of judgement and his strong will. Often for reasons of state his manner of government disregarded the wishes of his own party, the SPD, and especially of its left wing, who had to tolerate this resentfully. This disregard of his party brought Schmidt the admiration of the general public.

Schmidt had luck on his side and was thus able to paper over many of the cracks in the SPD/FDP coalition in Bonn.

The question now is: will Helmut Schmidt remain in control of events despite the Harrisburg disaster, which has brought the controversy about atomic energy to a head?

Speaking to experts at the European Nuclear Conference this week, Schmidt gave good reasons for his advocacy of continuing with the nuclear option, though on a more limited scale than originally envisaged. He said no country in East or West could afford to do without atomic energy in the coming years. Without atomic energy, he argued, our technological development and many jobs would be at risk and aid to the Third World would also be affected. But Schmidt's speech was defensive. His en-

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UN agency aiding children and to the Foundation for Mentally Handicapped Adults, of which she was the founder.

When collecting on behalf of the Foundation she made a point of not only soliciting large amounts, saying that nobody should have the feeling that a small sum of money would do no good anyway.

Many episodes from her time as first lady show how unconventional she was in this role. While visiting a prison in Siegburg she upset the entire programme by insisting on talking to the prisoners in their cells.

And while accompanying the president on a trip to Bavaria Hilda Heinemann cancelled the prepared "ladies programme," instead visiting a woman who did piece work at home, sewing beads onto ribbons for an hourly pay of 49 pfennigs. The stir she subsequently caused induced the woman's employer to increase the wages for such work.

With everything she did on behalf of other people she always hoped to fire the imagination and provide new impulses. This enabled her, as she once put it, "to open some doors at last."

Apart from her social involvement, Hilda Heinemann also had a great many cultural interests, numbering among her friends such people as Karl Barth, Günter Grass, Helmut Gollwitzer and Carl Zuckmayer.

Some 20 exhibitions of modern art were held at the Villa Hammerschmidt during its occupancy by Gustav Heinemann, and when Bonn had its Beethoven Festival composers like Stockhausen played in the presidential residence.

After the expiry of Gustav Heinemann's term of office and his death in July 1976, Hilda Heinemann returned to her family circle which included four children and 13 grandchildren. They will not be the only ones to miss her.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 7 May 1979)

ergy concept is under attack. He was given the support of his coalition in the Bundestag debate on energy last December, but this support was not easy to get even then. He was given their backing for the building of new reactors, the atomic waste disposal plant in Gorleben and the fast breeder reactor.

But since then the wind has changed. It is now blowing into the Chancellor's face.

After the Harrisburg accident, Interior Minister Gerhard Baum (FDP) said he was ready to reappraise the nuclear energy situation. The government parties in Bonn are split, not to mention the many local branches of the FDP and SPD who have openly voted against the building of new nuclear power stations or even called for a complete abandonment of the nuclear energy programme.

Leading Opposition politicians from Helmut Kohl to Franz Josef Strauss continue to advocate the nuclear energy policy but many of their party members sound far less convinced. The feeling of uncertainty is beginning to cut across party lines. Nuclear energy is now the main problem of political leadership. Helmut Schmidt faces two tasks:

1. The government needs the broad agreement of people in this country with its nuclear energy policy. It is no longer enough — if it ever was enough — that the Bonn coalition parties stand firmly behind nuclear energy policy. The regional party organisations face pressure from their rank-and-file, clearly affecting the Land governments, who are responsible for approving new nuclear energy projects. The electoral chances of governing and Opposition Land parties depends increasingly on their attitude to atomic energy.

The behaviour of Lower Saxony Prime Minister Ernst Albrecht (CDU) is an excellent example of this dilemma. Although he is a supporter of atomic energy, he was cool about the Bonn plans for a nuclear waste disposal and reprocessing plant in Gorleben from the beginning. But no one strengthened his resistance more than the Social Democrats, who rejected the Bonn government's nuclear energy policy to save their own skin.

The nearer the 1980 general elections come, the more blatantly will electoral

considerations play a part in the nuclear energy debate.

In autumn 1977 at the SPD national conference Schmidt managed to change a party executive resolution calling for a moratorium on nuclear energy. This prevented a dangerous collision between the Chancellor and his party but at the price of the clarity of the resolution, which was so vague that one could read almost anything into it.

Later the Chancellor relied too heavily on the persuasiveness of his point of view, saying little in public on nuclear energy. But after the emotionalisation which followed Harrisburg, others filled in the vacuum Schmidt had left on this issue, as on the issue of military nuclear problems.

The question is: can Schmidt now mobilise support for a limited continuation of the nuclear energy programme? As his energy policy may fail, he ought at least to try to do so.

2. The original Gorleben programme is dead. The Bonn plan for an integrated waste disposal centre envisaged two phases: first the reprocessing of used uranium rods, by means of which plutonium can be recovered. This can then be used as a fuel in fast-breeder reactors. The second phase was the final storage of the remaining atomic waste in a disused salt mine. As recently as the SPD national conference in 1977, this solution was hailed as ideal because it resolved the problem of storage and also meant that courts could now give the go-ahead for the building of further nuclear power stations now that the storage problem had been solved.

This euphoria has now been dispersed.

However, Ernst Albrecht developed into a master of delaying tactics. He was not at all inclined to shoulder all the responsibility for the plutonium plant. He insisted on the formula on Gorleben agreed between Bonn and Hanover, namely that it was a project in the interest of the country as a whole — sensing that the Social Democrats in Lower Saxony would leave him in the lurch.

The Gorleben hearing proved decisive. Here nuclear scientists were extremely sceptical about the proposed plant with an annual capacity of over 1,400 tons — which would have been far greater than the country's needs.

Let Nato bridge the gap

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for middle distances and still less for further afield. They are also short of armoured troop transport vehicles and communications equipment.

The Belgians too fall short on electronic equipment, and their artillery fire power is totally inadequate. Their 62,000-man army has 175 heavy artillery pieces; it ought to have three thousand.

The Belgians and Dutch are also stationed in wildly inappropriate geographical locations. They would have to embark on adventurous route marches past other Nato units to reach their operational areas.

Given these shortcomings and the chronic undermining of Britain's Nato forces, the three might better be classified as operational reserves.

In this capacity they would retain strategic weight within the deterrent context. As it is, their fighting strength is no more than a polite fiction.

For this reason alone US reinforcements are indispensable in the event of an emergency, which is why no effort should be spared to smooth their path.

Nato does not even have common tank tactics, let alone a standardised tank model. The tank units of its potential adversary are uniformly trained and comply with regulations binding on all. They are also geared to an offensive.

Surely the time has come for Nato not just to lament this sad state of affairs but to act appropriately.

Adelbert Weinstein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 14 May 1979)

Albrecht will announce his decision in the next few days. The following minimal solution will probably be proposed: the Gorleben salt mine will be made available for the final storage of nuclear waste and the necessary deep drilling can begin. This would also solve the problem of interim storage of used fuel in North Rhine-Westphalia.

But will this be enough to satisfy the administrative courts? This question is going to cause many headaches. Up to now, judges have refused permission for nuclear plant to be built on the grounds that the problem of waste disposal had not been solved — and by this they meant integrated disposal including reprocessing.

Chancellor Schmidt continues to favour, in principle, the integrated solution. Perhaps he does not want to give the courts and grounds for refusing building permission for nuclear plants; perhaps he does not want to lose the option of fast breeders, which could be fuelled with plutonium from Gorleben in the nineties.

But will Schmidt be able to get his way? He has already had to make considerable concessions in order to keep open at least the option on a reprocessing plant with an annual capacity of at 400 tons. He is fighting a running fight the result of which is still uncertain.

Looking back we can say that the gigantism of the German Society for the Reprocessing of Nuclear Fuels was a destructive boomerang for civil nuclear policy. The society wanted to build the biggest, most expensive industrial project in the world. The society's technological perfectionism, insensitivity towards the genuine concern and fears of the public, and a thoroughly unpolitical attitude did not help. What remained was distrust.

It may be that President Carter's initiative on a joint study by fifty nations to look into the possibility of international reprocessing plants could be helpful to Bonn. Given the many uncertainties the Bonn government should be ready to consider any proposal which could bring relief. At the moment, its energy policy is on quicksand.

Despite the relief that Albrecht's proposed minimal solution could bring, the fact is that final storage in Gorleben only solves the problem of waste disposal for nuclear power stations already built. The building of new nuclear power stations, insofar as this is indispensable remains the number one object of political argument.

The Bonn government is the architect of energy policy, which the Länder then put into operation. The Länder cannot do this without full political backing from Bonn.

Given all this uncertainty, the Chancellor's promises at the Hamburg energy conference are not enough. He said that the safety of reactors would come before economic considerations; that public discussion had priority over the technologists' timetables, that huge amounts of money would be invested in the development of non-nuclear energy alternatives. Schmidt must also introduce strict energy-saving measures, revive the impulse that came with the 1973 oil crisis but has since ebbed.

There is nothing else for it: Helmut Schmidt, if he does not want to fall as Chancellor, must bring the energy debate out of its present narrow confines. He will have to fight instead of watching others fight. He will have to argue with the full force of his temperament and the full authority of his office for what this country, as a leading industrial nation, needs.

Kurt Becker
(Die Zeit, 11 May 1979)

EXPORT TRADE Work under Arab sun - a mixed blessing

The Kraftwerk Union managed to build a 240-megawatt oil-fired power station in Saudi Arabia within a mere 34 months. "Today, the king himself is coming for the official opening," said Gerfried Stöler of Kraftwerk Union. He added that cooperation with the Arabs was excellent.

But asked whether he had many Arabs working in his team, he says: "Heavy physical work is not done by them. Besides, the Saudis are too expensive, so they use foreign workers from Africa and Asia."

But Germans and Englishmen also fall in this category of emigré workers. This became obvious when King Khalid arrived in his Mercedes 600 to put the water cannon into operation, demonstrating how well the new power station and the attached desalination plant functions.

Deputy Prime Minister Prince Fahd bin Abdul Aziz made a speech as did Abdul Aziz al-Rashid, head of the Saline Water Conversion Corporation. Another speaker was Dr. Abdul Rahman al-Sheikh, minister of agriculture and waterworks. The mullah sang out, calling the faithful to prayer.

But of the actual builders of the DM12 billion project no-one was asked to the microphones. The celebration remained a purely Arab affair. The local press carried a full page advertisement, congratulating not the builders but the royal family. The advertisement was paid for by Kraftwerk Union.

There is little the European experts can congratulate themselves on about their living conditions in the Arab desert. They live in a camp of reasonably comfortable bungalows surrounded by both a fence and a high wall. Within the compound there is a swimming pool and a tennis court which few people use considering the sizzling 30-degree temperature and humidity close to 100 per cent.

The men have no contact with the orthodox Moslem population. They are exposed to the monotony of climatic conditions without noticeable seasonal change, surrounded by the same faces and the boredom that goes with it.

In Jidda, a couple of miles away, there are neither cinemas nor pubs, let alone night clubs. The few women seen in the streets are veiled and it is most inadvisable to attempt to photograph them. Small wonder, then, that everybody envies those whose stint is over and who are about to go back home.

"Hardly anybody extends his contract here," says Herr Stöler, "nor are there many Germans anxious to come to this country."

He himself, however, is happy with the job, feeling that it is good for his career to have successfully completed such a project. After all, he was only 36 when he went to Saudi Arabia. But his enthusiasm is the exception rather than the rule.

The noticeboard carries an invitation to sign up for the soccer team. Somebody has written on it: "Are you kidding... at 30 degrees in the shade?"

Even financial incentives are not very effective. Salaries in Jidda are tax-free and staff enjoy an allowance of DM95 a

day, most of which is used for rent and the cafeteria.

The time-off schedule is also unlikely to impress any German trade unionist. Normally, the day off is Friday, Saturday and Sunday being working days.

"But that's no good for us," says Stöler. "On Saturdays and Sundays there is no-one at the head office in Germany and on Fridays everything is shut down here. That means that three days a week are unavailable for communications. Our average working time is at least ten hours, six days a week. Otherwise we could never have managed to complete the project."

The Arabs demand the best and most sophisticated of technology - fast and at the lowest possible price.

The contract for Jidda 3 stipulates a fixed price without allowances for rising costs. In addition, a 380,000-volt control panel had to be provided - a most advanced product barely seen in any other power station.

The electricity supply for the city of Jidda, now being developed by Siemens, is also to have a 380,000-volt grid compared with the usual grids of 110,000 to 200,000 volts. (Only West Berlin recently switched over to 380,000 volts, the first city in the world to do so).

The German workers in Saudi Arabia are fighting against growing competition as more and more companies crowd the Arab market.

In addition, there are high production costs in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Says Herr Stöler: "Our prices being what they are, we can only supply the most sophisticated of products such as turbines and generators. Everything else must be supplied by our consortium."

So it is not surprising that the consortium employs Indian construction gangs, using their relatively low wages to offset overall costs.

There is quite a bit that still remains to be done for Jidda 3. The first water is now to be pumped into the pipelines. The rest of the power station is to supply 240 megawatts and the desalination plant 80 million litres of water a day.

Kraftwerk Union is already engaged in promising negotiations for additional projects, even larger than the Jidda

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Industry wary of Arab-German trade association latest move

The Arab countries are again - this time successfully, it seems - trying to lend more weight to the Arab-German Trade Association in Bonn.

The Libyan Embassy recently informed German companies that it had instructed the German Association for Trade and Industry Ghorfa to collect all certificates of origin and prepare them for validation by the Embassy.

Libya is not the only country to insist on assigning this function to the Association. Others which have done so are Syria, Kuwait and Sudan.

Other Arab states are said to be intending to proceed in the same manner.

The Standing Conference of German Industry and Commerce (DIHT) and the Middle East Association have again asked the Foreign Ministry to intervene. Die Welt was told that the matter is still under review. Only a short while ago, in August 1978, the Foreign Ministry refused to intervene.

Even before the Association was founded on 30 July 1976, the DIHT

Foreign contracts boost German building industry

The German construction industry was full of expectations a few years ago when it went into foreign business on a grand scale.

The many billions of petrodollars held a promise of offsetting the poor business at home. But for many reality failed to meet this promise. Even the biggest construction companies had to contend with unexpected difficulties and pay dearly.

Beton- und Monierbau AG was hit hardest and has recently had to go into bankruptcy, because it had failed to make proper allowance for the risks in this business.

Until 1973 construction abroad was of little importance for the German building industry. Domestic business being excellent, the DM1.5 billion foreign orders were a mere drop in the ocean.

But when business declined in the wake of the oil shock the newly-gained riches of the Opec countries proved a powerful lure.

Billions of petrodollars and a seemingly inexhaustible need for infrastructure projects added up to a promising future.

As early as 1973, orders worth DM5.2 billion flowed to the German construction industry, rising to DM12.3 billion by 1976.

This was followed by a retrenchment because certain development projects proved over-ambitious. But even so, last year's orders still amounted to DM9.3 billion.

Even these amounts seem relatively modest compared with the overall turnover of Germany's construction industry which exceeded DM200 billion in 1978.

But considering that a very small number of companies share this amount, the magnitude falls into perspective. Only some 100 companies are competing in the foreign business sector and well over 80 per cent of the orders go to a mere dozen of them.

As a result, the mammoth companies by now rely for more than 50 per cent

of their business on construction work abroad.

Hochtief recently announced that its DM4.22 billion turnover last year DM2.31 billion was accounted for by foreign business. This state of affairs highlighted even more by the fact that present orders on the books have a value of DM1.65 billion domestic and DM3.1 billion from abroad.

The situation with Philip Holzmann is similar. There foreign orders to the tune of DM2.44 billion took the lion's share of the overall turnover of DM4 billion.

Although the mammoth companies have learned during the past years to live with such ratios, there is still a certain discomfort. Experience shows that such orders cannot be carried out along normal lines and that even construction managers experienced in foreign jobs are frequently faced with unaccustomed problems. The business is fraught with risks notwithstanding the profits it can be achieved given clever management.

Among the many pitfalls there is the fact that virtually all the contracts are made out in local currency and subject to considerable fluctuation, especially if a project extends over a number of years.

Many countries also insist on fixed prices, which poses another risk due to the unpredictability of inflation rates.

A major German company is said to have escaped serious trouble recently only because the Arab principals were generous enough to agree to a review and upward adjustment of the original price.

But these are not all the pitfalls which also include language difficulties and problems with the laws of the country concerned, unreliable local supplies and inadequately trained labour.

Moreover, many foreign parties to contracts use all kinds of business tricks. Thus, for instance, urgently needed equipment is held up by customs for weeks, frequently deliberately and at the instigation of the principal in order that the delivery time should be exceeded and contractually agreed penalties paid.

It is thus not surprising that only major companies with the necessary administrative apparatus can cope with such problems. Moreover, many of the projects such as airports, railroads, power stations and dams involve enormous sums of money which are out of reach for any but the biggest companies.

Frequently, when smaller firms by their hand at this business they buy the finger, as in the case of a Bremen company that undertook to build apartment houses in Algeria.

The commercial risks are augmented by political uncertainties, as borne out by the Iranian example. Construction activities of German companies in that country, differ widely. While work on the nuclear power station in Bushahr seems to be proceeding swiftly, other construction sites have been abandoned. But this development is not all that dangerous because many companies have obtained insurance from the government-owned Hermes Export Insurance Corporation - a precaution which Beton- und Monierbau felt it could forego for its Nigerian project, much to its chagrin.

Helmut Meier-Mannhart
(Die Welt, 9 May 1979)

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 6 May 1979)

ENVIRONMENT

Environmental protection not too costly, does not distort competition

The OECD was one of the first international organisations to devote serious attention to environmental protection.

This could well be due to the fact that the bureaucracy of such organisations is constantly in search of international problems that can only be solved by a common effort.

In this case, however, it is possible that another motive played a part. The OECD recognised the danger of pollution - a danger of incalculable dynamism - and feared that this could undermine the very foundations of affluence.

Ten years ago, the OECD began working out common guidelines for the environmental protection policy of its industrialised member nations.

These guidelines were to relieve the OECD countries and their business corporations of the necessity (and the temptation) to keep their prices low despite fierce competition for export

markets by dumping industrial waste on the environment.

The conference of OECD environment ministers, which closed in Paris recently, had the first environment report of the organisation's secretariat as a basis for discussion.

After ten years seeking common guidelines, the report now describes the environmental situation of the individual member nations. The picture is not favourable, but it would be considerably worse were it not for systematic environmental protection policies by the member nations.

It is interesting to see how certain indicators of pollution vary from country to country without a link with economic developments being discernible. After all, the foremost question for the OECD is: What effect do anti-pollution measures have on growth and employment?

Thus, for instance, sulphur dioxide (SO₂) emission resulting from the combustion of fossil fuel has diminished in

OECD countries with particularly high growth rates (between 1965 and 1975).

In economically stagnating nations, on the other hand, SO₂ emission has increased.

SO₂ emission in Portugal in 1975 was three times as high as in Japan and in France it was twice as high as in the United States.

The reasons are simple: Poor countries are forced to use cheap coal with a high SO₂ content while Japan can afford to use higher quality coal and low SO₂ content oil. It can also afford purification installations.

The clearly reduced SO₂ emission in virtually all industrialised countries in the past five years is the direct result of more stringent legislation.

This, the report says, did not lead to distortions of competition nor did polluting industries move to sites where environmental legislation was less strict, as many had feared.

There are few instances of capital having gone to developing countries only because of their lax environmental legislation. In fact, environment policy has had little bearing on the flow of investment among the technically highly developed countries.

Generally, the report states, reality differs widely from the theory that environmental protection is of necessity costly and stymies production.

The past decade has proved that the possibility of improving the environment through technological progress is greater than assumed.

Anti-pollution legislation frequently forces industry to make use of energy-saving technologies, ultimately reducing production costs.

Public sector and private anti-pollution investments amounted to 1.5 per cent of GNP in the United States in 1975, 1.7 per cent in Japan, 1.4 per cent in the Federal Republic of Germany and 0.8 per cent in Sweden.

According to the report, these are fairly accurate estimates and the figures are considerably lower than the damage that would be caused by pollution.

Spending for environment protection has accounted for only 0.3 per cent of inflation. Though this figure differs somewhat from country to country, nowhere has environment protection been responsible for high inflation rates. The same applies to unemployment.

In fact, the OECD report confirms what the Bonn Ministry of the Interior and environmental protection organisations have repeatedly claimed in the past few years - claims which have met with scepticism from business circles.

Though environmental protection can lead to redundancies in certain regions and firms it also creates many new jobs.

Less than 100 factories had to shut down in the United States between 1971 and 1978 because of incompatibility with anti-pollution requirements. The 20,000 jobs lost were more than offset by the 680,000 new jobs created by environmental protection. Christian Schütze

(Städteutsche Zeitung, 10 May 1979)

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plant. The Saudis hold German work in high regard.

But the Germans not only supply highly sophisticated technology, they also - though in isolated cases only - lapse into bad conduct.

Says Reinhard Schlagintweit, Germany's ambassador to Saudi Arabia: "The three crooks who tried to pinch DM 3 million from Philipp Holzmann AG are better known in this country than I am. Everybody was surprised to learn that even Germans have their scoundrels."

Anatol Johansen
(Die Welt, 9 May 1979)

Conservation creates jobs, report says

Almost 18,000 people worked full-time in the environmental protection sector of industry in 1975.

According to the study, the public sector employed 37,300 people in the overall complex of waste removal and sewage in the same year.

On top of this, 21,100 environmental protection experts worked in the public sector in 1976. The author expects this figure to rise to 25,000 by 1980.

Overall employment in environmental protection in 1975 is estimated at 200,000, and is expected to rise to 250,000 by 1980.

These are minimum figures because they do not include the export of environmental protection goods and certain acceleration factors.

The study compares the positive effects with possible negative results due to increased spending in this sector. Herr Sprenger concludes that for some 75 per cent of the firms he reviewed this cost factor is negligible.

There is no distortion of competition because of cost increases resulting from environmental protection. In any event, reduction of competitiveness due to anti-pollution legislation cannot be tracked down exactly because numerous factors enter the picture. So it is impos-

ible to give exact figures on redundancies due to environmental protection measures.

A survey of cutbacks in production and shut-downs due to anti-pollution legislation shows that some 5,000 people lost their jobs between 1971 and 1978. But environment policy effects were only one factor in the decision to discontinue operations.

The author does not, however, exclude the possibility that more stringent legislation in the future could lead to an increased number of shut-downs.

The relocation of production sites abroad due to environmental protection regulations is minimal in this country. Relocation decisions are influenced by other considerations.

The generally positive effects of our environmental policy must be viewed in close connection with present economic conditions, marked by inadequately used production capacities and restraint by industrial investors. In this situation, the relatively sustained development of environmental protection investments by industry and the public sector tends to stabilise demand, improve the use of production capacities and have a beneficial effect on employment.

The market for environmental protection goods is no longer a neglected economic factor. For the future, the author calls for long-term development policy to enable business to include these elements in its calculations.

(Handelsblatt, 7 May 1979)

■ PEOPLE

Havemann, the man they could not gag

The East Berlin authorities have now lifted the two-and-a-half-year house arrest on East Berlin regime critic Professor Robert Havemann, 68. However, Havemann still faces charges on alleged currency offences.

Robert Havemann has always been inventive in breaking total isolation and establishing contact with the outside world. The East Berlin dissident, under house arrest since November 1976, has proved this by managing to smuggle tape recordings to the West.

This ability also stood him in good stead 35 years ago as a prisoner of the Third Reich in the jail of Brandenburg-Görden while awaiting execution.

Not only did he succeed in building a fine short-wave radio receiver that enabled him to receive foreign news but he also issued a daily news sheet (circulation two) in which he gave a summary of the news.

The newspaper was passed on among the prisoners — primarily members of communist resistance cells of which he was a member.

It is not known whether the East German leader Erich Honecker, who was sentenced in 1935 to ten years imprisonment and was one of the inmates of Brandenburg-Görden jail, was one of the readers.

Havemann, whose execution had been postponed twice in 1944/45 because he was aiding the war effort by engaging in important research on behalf of the armament office, has never commented on the attitude and conduct of his fellow prisoner, Honecker.

The son of a teacher, born in Munich in 1910, Havemann joined the Communist Party of Germany while still a student of chemistry in 1932. Despite his dismissal from the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry in 1933 he was able to continue his research career until 1943.

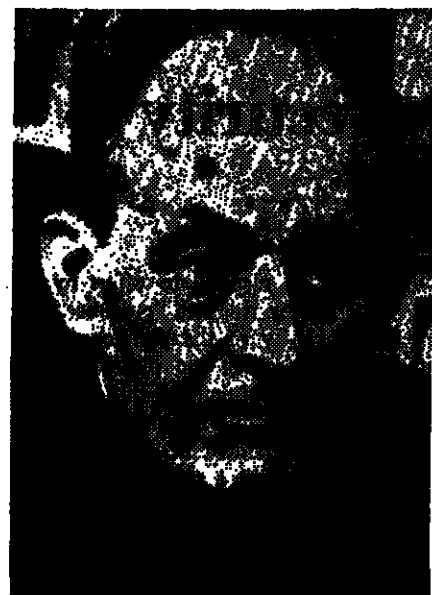
That year marked both his professorship at Berlin University and his death sentence by Hitler's notorious "People's Court" as co-founder and leading member of the anti-fascist resistance group European Union.

After the war he became the administrative head of the Berlin Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and co-founder of the Cultural Society. As a West Berliner, he joined the newly-founded SED (Socialist Unity Party of Germany) in 1946. A year later the Americans dismissed him from his post at the Institute because he was suspected of spying for the Soviet Union. This was followed three years later by his dismissal as department head at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Physical Chemistry in Berlin-Dahlem because of his firm stand against the construction of the hydrogen bomb by America.

Havemann went to East Berlin where he was appointed professor at the Humboldt University and director of the Institute for Physical Chemistry.

At that time he led the party line, becoming a member of the Volkskammer (East Germany's parliament), a capacity in which he served from 1950 to 1963.

The anti-fascist and communist Havemann, who has labelled himself a "German Marxist" and who has made it clear that he considers "the first socialist German state the historically better one



Robert Havemann (Photo: dpa)

and with a more promising future", gradually came into conflict with the rigidly Stalinist communist party.

In a lecture on "Scientific Aspects of Philosophical Problems" in the winter semester 1963/64, attended by more than 1,000 students, he advocated democratic socialism and personal freedom.

In May 1964 he was expelled from the SED and stripped of his university post for "continuous anti-party conduct." Contrary to the statutes of that organisation, he was also struck from the list of members of the East Berlin Academy of Science.

Ever since, this irksome and unyielding dissident — he has been living on a government pension as a victim of fascism since 1966 — has managed time and again to state publicly what many East Germans think. This is why he is now to be muzzled once and for all.

Peter Jochen Winters
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 4 May 1979)

As inspector of the navy (chief of staff), Vice Admiral Günter Luther now heads his branch of the armed forces. But this is not the last station in his career.

It is no secret that he is tipped to become Nato deputy commander-in-chief when General Schmückle retires. But the decision does not rest with the Bonn defence minister. The appointment requires Nato approval.

In any event, Defence Minister Hans Apel's predecessor, Georg Leber, agreed with our allies that this post should go to a German. It would be most unusual, therefore, if this did not happen.

Vice Admiral Luther is splendidly suited to this post, his English being as good as his German. Moreover, his personal ties with the navy personnel of our allies are very close.

As inspector of the navy he would bring to the new post the authority of a man used to making decisions. His unusual military career also makes him particularly suitable. Vice Admiral Luther is both a sailor and an airman, having had experience in both branches of the armed forces, though he has never commanded a ship. But he has served on board.

As a jet pilot he not only flew planes but also gathered operative experience in air warfare as commander of the fleet air arm. He attributes a central role to the air force in any naval conflict.

But what matters at the moment is to lead the navy into a new future by modernising weaponry systems.

The frigate is to play a key role in this context. Vice Admiral Luther considers the switchover to the Frigate 122

Hilda Heinemann, widow of former President, dies in Essen

One of Hilda Heinemann's last public appearances took place, almost unnoticed, in an oppressive atmosphere. The widow of the late President Gustav Heinemann was among the spectators at the Düsseldorf Majdanek trial.

During an adjournment, she was seen looking after a witness from Israel who had testified on her experience in the concentration camp and was close to collapse.

During her husband's term in office, Hilda Heinemann was not the usual type of first lady, spending her time at functions and ceremonies.

Born in 1896 in Bremen — her father was a merchant, her mother the daughter of a clergyman in Berne — she studied German, history and theology.

As a student in Marburg she met the young jurist Gustav Heinemann whom she married in 1926, when they moved to Essen.

Like her husband, Hilda Heinemann remained a protagonist of the Confessing Church during the Third Reich.

The war, in the course of which their house was partially destroyed, forced the Heinemanns and their three daughters to move.

After the war, Herr Heinemann became mayor of Essen (1946 to 1949), at the same time holding office as North Rhine-Westphalia's justice minister from 1947 to 1948.

In 1949, when her husband transferred his activities to Bonn, Hilda Heinemann remained in Essen.

In March 1969, when the former Bonn justice minister was elected president, his wife decided to move to



Hilda Heinemann (Photo: dpa)

Bonn's Villa Hammerschmidt for the duration of his term of office.

Like her husband, Hilda Heinemann though outwardly cool and aloof, was full of warmth and sympathy for the others. She was a dependable woman who had the courage of her conviction.

Until the summer of 1974, when Hilda Heinemann's term of office expired, he decided not to stand for and term, Hilda Heinemann was chairman the Müttergenesungswerk (an organisation providing holidays for housewives).

She also became a patron of Amnesty International and Deutscher Frauenrat (a women's organisation).

Much of her work was devoted to

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Admiral Luther in line for top Nato job



Vice Admiral Günter Luther (Photo: Sven Simon)

as a test case. If this succeeds without technical difficulties it will be considered proof of the high moral and professional quality of both leadership and men.

There is, however, one aspect which he views with concern: the more sophisticated and modern the navy, the more abstract the profession of the seaman,

More automation — which is inevitable — means less humanity in the sailor's lives.

As a result, he feels that the demand of all officers that they stop the decline of human values among the men. While Admiral Tirpitz demanded that sailors be "manipulated" to become part of a machine, Vice Admiral Luther says that man comes first and the machine second.

The vice admiral has always been the youngest in any rank he held. Due to his ambition and sense of duty plus pleasure he derives from his work he climbed the ladder of success in leaps and bounds.

Born in 1922, he is one of the "young" of 1939. He served on a training vessel under sail, as a gunnery officer and as a navy flier.

The end of the war came for him in 1944 while serving as a paratrooper in the Ardennes.

Since he joined the Bundeswehr he has been resisting a transfer to the Führungsakademie (leadership academy).

As he rose in rank so did recognition of his work.

When the post of inspector-general of the Bundeswehr became vacant last December, Vice Admiral Luther was short-listed.

He has so far not commented on the possible appointment to the Supreme Headquarters of Nato, talking instead only about retirement in terms of the future: "When I take off my uniform for good I want to study history at the University."

Adelbert Weinstein
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 5 May 1979)

■ ENERGY POLICY

Nuclear power puts Schmidt in a spot: is the answer blowing in the wind?

Helmut Schmidt, in his five years as Chancellor, has relied most of all on his own power of judgement and his strong will. Often for reasons of state his manner of government disregarded the wishes of his own party, the SPD, and especially of its left-wing, who had to tolerate this resentfully. This disregard of his party brought Schmidt the admiration of the general public.

Schmidt had luck on his side and was thus able to paper over many of the cracks in the SPD/FDP coalition in Bonn.

The question now is: will Helmut Schmidt remain in control of events despite the Harrisburg disaster, which has brought the controversy about atomic energy to a head?

Speaking to experts at the European Nuclear Conference this week, Schmidt gave good reasons for his advocacy of continuing with the nuclear option, though on a more limited scale than originally envisaged. He said no country in East or West could afford to do without atomic energy in the coming years. Without atomic energy, he argued, our technological development and many jobs would be at risk and aid to the Third World would also be affected. But Schmidt's speech was defensive. His en-

Continued from page 4

UN agency aiding children and to the Foundation for Mentally Handicapped Adults, of which she was the founder.

When collecting on behalf of the Foundation she made a point of not only soliciting large amounts, saying that nobody should have the feeling that a small sum of money would do no good anyway.

Many episodes from her time as first lady show how unconventional she was in this role. While visiting a prison in Siegburg she upset the entire programme by insisting on talking to the prisoners in their cells.

And while accompanying the president on a trip to Bavaria Hilda Heinemann cancelled the prepared "ladies programme," instead visiting a woman who did piece work at home, sewing beads onto ribbons for an hourly pay of 49 pfennigs. The stir she subsequently caused induced the woman's employer to increase the wages for such work.

With everything she did on behalf of other people she always hoped to fire the imagination and provide new impulses. This enabled her, as she once put it, "to open some doors at least."

Apart from her social involvement, Hilda Heinemann also had a great many cultural interests, numbering among her friends such people as Karl Barth, Günter Grass, Helmut Gollwitzer and Carl Zuckmayer.

Some 20 exhibitions of modern art were held at the Villa Hammerschmidt during its occupancy by Gustav Heinemann, and when Bonn had its Beethoven Festival composers like Stockhausen played in the presidential residence.

After the expiry of Gustav Heinemann's term of office and his death in July 1976, Hilda Heinemann returned to her family circle which included four children and 13 grandchildren. They will not be the only ones to miss her.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 7 May 1979)

ergy concept is under attack. He was given the support of his coalition in the Bundestag debate on energy last December, but this support was not easy to get even then. He was given their backing for the building of new reactors, the atomic waste disposal plant in Gorleben and the fast breeder reactor.

But since then the wind has changed. It is now blowing into the Chancellor's face.

After the Harrisburg accident, Interior Minister Gerhart Baum (FDP) said he was ready to reappraise the nuclear energy situation. The government parties in Bonn are split, not to mention the many local branches of the FDP and SPD who have openly voted against the building of new nuclear power stations or even called for a complete abandonment of the nuclear energy programme.

Leading Opposition politicians from Helmut Kohl to Franz Josef Strauss continue to advocate the nuclear energy policy but many of their party members sound far less convinced. The feeling of uncertainty is beginning to cut across party lines. Nuclear energy is now the main problem of political leadership. Helmut Schmidt faces two tasks:

1. The government needs the broad agreement of people in this country with its nuclear energy policy. It is no longer enough — if it ever was enough — that the Bonn coalition parties stand firmly behind nuclear energy policy. The regional party organisations face pressure from their rank-and-file, clearly affecting the Land governments, who are responsible for approving new nuclear energy projects. The electoral chances of governing and Opposition Land parties depends increasingly on their attitude to atomic energy.

The behaviour of Lower Saxony Prime Minister Ernst Albrecht (CDU) is an excellent example of this dilemma. Although he is a supporter of atomic energy, he was cool about the Bonn plans for a nuclear waste disposal and reprocessing plant in Gorleben from the beginning. But no one strengthened his resistance more than the Social Democrats, who rejected the Bonn government's nuclear energy policy to save their own skin.

The nearer the 1980 general elections come, the more blatantly will electoral

considerations play a part in the nuclear energy debate.

In autumn 1977 at the SPD national conference Schmidt managed to change a party executive resolution calling for a moratorium on nuclear energy. This prevented a dangerous collision between the Chancellor and his party but at the price of the clarity of the resolution, which was so vague that one could read almost anything into it.

Later the Chancellor relied too heavily on the persuasiveness of his point of view, saying little in public on nuclear energy. But after the emotionalisation which followed Harrisburg, others filled in the vacuum Schmidt had left on this issue, as on the issue of military nuclear problems.

The question is: can Schmidt now mobilise support for a limited continuation of the nuclear energy programme? As his energy policy may fail, he ought at least to try to do so.

2. The original Gorleben programme is dead. The Bonn plan for an integrated waste disposal centre envisaged two phases: first the reprocessing of used uranium rods, by means of which plutonium can be recovered. This can then be used as a fuel in fast-breeder reactors. The second phase was the final storage of the remaining atomic waste in a disused salt mine. As recently as the SPD national conference in 1977, this solution was hailed as ideal because it resolved the problem of storage and also meant that courts could now give the go-ahead for the building of further nuclear power stations now that the storage problem had been solved.

This euphoria has now been dispersed.

However, Ernst Albrecht developed into a master of delaying tactics. He was not at all inclined to shoulder all the responsibility for the plutonium plant. He insisted on the formula on Gorleben agreed between Bonn and Hanover, namely that it was a project in the interest of the country as a whole — sensing that the Social Democrats in Lower Saxony would leave him in the lurch.

The Gorleben hearing proved decisive. Here nuclear scientists were extremely sceptical about the proposed plant with an annual capacity of over 1,400 tons — which would have been far greater than the country's needs.

Let Nato bridge the gap

Continued from page 1

for middle distances and still less for further afield. They are also short of armoured troop transport vehicles and communications equipment.

The Belgians too fall short on electronic equipment, and their artillery fire power is totally inadequate. Their 62,000-man army has 175 heavy artillery pieces; it ought to have three thousand.

The Belgians and Dutch are also stationed in wildly inappropriate geographical locations. They would have to embark on adventurous route marches past other Nato units to reach their operational areas.

Given these shortcomings and the chronic undermanning of Britain's Nato forces, the three might better be classified as operational reserves.

In this capacity they would retain strategic weight within the deterrent context. As it is, their fighting strength is no more than a polite fiction.

For this reason alone, US reinforcements are indispensable in the event of an emergency, which is why no effort should be spared to smooth their path.

Nato does not even have common tank tactics, let alone a standardised tank model. The tank units of its potential adversary are uniformly trained and comply with regulations binding on all. They are also geared to an offensive.

Surely the time has come for Nato not just to lament this state of affairs but to act appropriately.

Adelbert Weinstein
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 14 May 1979)

Albrecht will announce his decision in the next few days. The following minimal solution will probably be proposed: the Gorleben salt mine will be made available for the final storage of nuclear waste and the necessary deep drilling can begin. This would also solve the problem of interim storage of used fuel in North Rhine-Westphalia.

But will this be enough to satisfy the administrative courts? This question is going to cause many headaches. Up to now, judges have refused permission for nuclear plant to be built on the grounds that the problem of waste disposal had not been solved — and by this they meant integrated disposal including reprocessing.

Chancellor Schmidt continues to favour, in principle, the integrated solution. Perhaps he does not want to give the courts and grounds for refusing building permission for nuclear plants; perhaps he does not want to lose the option of fast breeders, which could be fuelled with plutonium from Gorleben in the nineties.

But will Schmidt be able to get his way? He has already had to make considerable concessions in order to keep open at least the option on a reprocessing plant with an annual capacity of at 400 tons. He is fighting a running fight the result of which is still uncertain.

Looking back we can say that the gigantism of the German Society for the Reprocessing of Nuclear Fuels was a destructive boomerang for civil nuclear policy. The society wanted to build the biggest, most expensive industrial project in the world. The society's technological perfectionism, insensitivity towards the genuine concern and fears of the public, and a thoroughly unpolitical attitude did not help. What remained was distrust.

It may be that President Carter's initiative on a joint study by fifty nations to look into the possibility of international reprocessing plants could be helpful to Bonn. Given the many uncertainties the Bonn government should be ready to consider any proposal which could bring relief. At the moment, its energy policy is on quicksand.

Despite the relief that Albrecht's proposed minimal solution could bring, the fact is that final storage in Gorleben only solves the problem of waste disposal for nuclear power stations already built. The building of new nuclear power stations, insofar as this is indispensable remains the number one object of political argument.

The Bonn government is the architect of energy policy, which the Länder then put into operation. The Länder cannot do this without full political backing from Bonn.

Given all this uncertainty, the Chancellor's promises at the Hamburg energy conference are not enough. He said that the safety of reactors would come before economic considerations; that public discussion had priority over the technologists' timetable, that huge amounts of money would be invested in the development of non-nuclear energy alternatives. Schmidt must also introduce strict energy-saving measures, revive the impulse that came with the 1973 oil crisis, but has since ebbed.

There is nothing else for it: Helmut Schmidt, if he does not want to fail as Chancellor, must bring the energy debate out of its present narrow confines. He will have to fight instead of watching others fight. He will have to argue with the full force of his temperament and the full authority of his office for what this country, as a leading industrial nation, needs.

Kurt Becker
(Die Zeit, 11 May 1979)

■ EXPORT TRADE

Work under Arab sun - a mixed blessing

The Kraftwerk Union managed to build a 240-megawatt oil-fired power station in Saudi Arabia within a mere 34 months. "Today, the king himself is coming for the official opening," said Gerfried Stieler of Kraftwerk Union. He added that cooperation with the Arabs was excellent.

But asked whether he had many Arabs working in his team, he says: "Heavy physical work is not done by them. Besides, the Saudis are too expensive, so they use foreign workers from Africa and Asia."

But Germans and Englishmen also fall in this category of emigré workers. This became obvious when King Khalid arrived in his Mercedes 600 to put the water cannon into operation, demonstrating how well the new power station and the attached desalination plant functions.

Deputy Prime Minister Prince Fahd bin Abdul Aziz made a speech as did Abdul Aziz al-Rashid, head of the Saline Water Conversion Corporation. Another speaker was Dr. Abdul Rahman al-Sheikh, minister of agriculture and waterworks. The mullah sang out, calling the faithful to prayer.

But of the actual builders of the DM1.2 billion project no-one was asked to the microphone. The celebration remained a purely Arab affair. The local press carried a full page advertisement, congratulating not the builders but the royal family. The advertisement was paid for by Kraftwerk Union.

There is little the European experts can congratulate themselves on about their living conditions in the Arab desert. They live in a camp of reasonably comfortable bungalows surrounded by both a fence and a high wall. Within the compound there is a swimming pool and a tennis court which few people use considering the sizzling 30-degree temperature and humidity close to 100 per cent.

The men have no contact with the orthodox Moslem population. They are exposed to the monotony of climatic conditions without noticeable seasonal change, surrounded by the same faces and the boredom that goes with it.

In Jidda, a couple of miles away, there are neither cinemas nor pubs, let alone night clubs. The few women seen in the streets are veiled and it is most inadvisable to attempt to photograph them. Small wonder, then, that everybody envies those whose stint is over and who are about to go back home.

"Hardly anybody extends his contract here," says Herr Stieler, "nor are there many Germans anxious to come to this country."

He himself, however, is happy with the job, feeling that it is good for his career to have successfully completed such a project. After all, he was only 36 when he went to Saudi Arabia. But his enthusiasm is the exception rather than the rule.

The noticeboard carries an invitation to sign up for the soccer team. Somebody has written on it: "Are you kidding... at 30 degrees in the shade?"

Even financial incentives are not very effective. Salaries in Jidda are tax-free and staff enjoy an allowance of DM95 a

day, most of which is used for rent and the cafeteria.

The time-off schedule is also unlikely to impress any German trade unionist. Normally, the day off is Friday, Saturday and Sunday being working days.

"But that's no good for us," says Stieler. "On Saturdays and Sundays there is no-one at the head office in Germany and on Fridays everything is shut down here. That means that three days a week are unavailable for communications. Our average working time is at least ten hours, six days a week. Otherwise we could never have managed to complete the project."

The Arabs demand the best and most sophisticated of technology - fast and at the lowest possible price.

The contract for Jidda 3 stipulates a fixed price without allowances for rising costs. In addition, a 380,000-volt control panel had to be provided - a most advanced product barely seen in any other power station.

The electricity supply for the city of Jidda, now being developed by Siemens, is also to have a 380,000-volt grid compared with the usual grids of 110,000 to 200,000 volts. (Only West Berlin recently switched over to 380,000 volts, the first city in the world to do so).

The German workers in Saudi Arabia are fighting against growing competition as more and more companies crowd the Arab market.

In addition, there are high production costs in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Says Herr Stieler: "Our prices being what they are, we can only supply the most sophisticated of products such as turbines and generators. Everything else must be supplied by our consortium."

So it is not surprising that the consortium employs Indian construction gangs, using their relatively low wages to offset overall costs.

There is quite a bit that still remains to be done for Jidda 3. The first water is now to be pumped into the pipelines. The rest of the power station is to supply 240 megawatts and the desalination plant 80 million litres of water a day.

Kraftwerk Union is already engaged in promising negotiations for additional projects, even larger than the Jidda

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Industry wary of Arab-German trade association latest move

The Arab countries are again - this time successfully, it seems - trying to lend more weight to the Arab-German Trade Association in Bonn.

The Libyan Embassy recently informed German companies that it had instructed the German Association for Trade and Industry Ghorfa to collect all certificates of origin and prepare them for validation by the Embassy.

Libya is not the only country to insist on assigning this function to the Association. Others which have done so are Syria, Kuwait and Sudan.

Other Arab states are said to be intending to proceed in the same manner.

The Standing Conference of German Industry and Commerce (DIHT) and the Middle East Association have again asked the Foreign Ministry to intervene. Die Welt was told that the matter is still under review. Only a short while ago, in August 1978, the Foreign Ministry refused to intervene.

Even before the Association was founded on 30. July 1976, the DIHT

Foreign contracts boost German building industry

The German construction industry was full of expectations a few years ago when it went into foreign business on a grand scale.

The many billions of petrodollars held a promise of offsetting the poor business at home. But for many reality failed to meet this promise. Even the biggest construction companies had to contend with unexpected difficulties and pay dearly.

Beton- und Monierbau AG was hit hardest and has recently had to go into bankruptcy, because it had failed to make proper allowance for the risks in this business.

Until 1973 construction abroad was of little importance for the German building industry. Domestic business being excellent, the DM1.5 billion foreign orders were a mere drop in the ocean.

But when business declined in the wake of the oil shock, the newly-gained riches of the Opec countries proved a powerful lure.

Billions of petrodollars and a seemingly inexhaustible need for infrastructure projects added up to a promising future.

As early as 1973, orders worth DM5.2 billion flowed to the German construction industry, rising to DM12.3 billion by 1976.

This was followed by a retrenchment because certain development projects proved over-ambitious. But even so, last year's orders still amounted to DM9.3 billion.

Even these amounts seem relatively modest compared with the overall turnover of Germany's construction industry which exceeded DM200 billion in 1978.

But considering that a very small number of companies share this amount, the magnitude falls into perspective.

Only some 100 companies are competing in the foreign business sector and well over 80 per cent of the orders go to a mere dozen of them.

As a result, the mammoth companies by now rely for more than 50 per cent

and the Chambers of Commerce voiced their reservations.

The Arab League and the Arab Embassies in Bonn originally intended to establish an Arab-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry. But since this was not possible under present German law because this right is reserved for public sector organisations, the Arab League simply used the Arabic word for chamber, *ghorfa*.

German business circles have from the very beginning viewed Ghorfa as a superfluous organisation which only added to costs. Every copy of the certificate of origin is to cost DM3.00 and Ghorfa can set as an information bank of German-Arab trade which the Arab League could conceivably use for boycotting measures. Such a boycott has now become likely, not only against Israel but also against Egypt.

German fears are further substantiated by the bad experience France and Britain have had with similar organisations.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart
(Die Welt, 9 May 1979)

of their business on construction work abroad.

Hochtief recently announced that its DM4.22 billion turnover last year DM2.31 billion was accounted for by foreign business. This state of affairs highlighted even more by the fact that present orders on the books have a value of DM1.65 billion domestic and DM1.1 billion from abroad.

The situation with Philip Holzmann is similar. There foreign orders to the tune of DM2.44 billion took the lion's share of the overall turnover of DM1 billion.

Although the mammoth companies have learned during the past years to live with such ratios, there is still a certain discomfort. Experience shows that such orders cannot be carried out along normal lines and that even construction managers experienced in foreign work are frequently faced with unaccustomed problems. The business is fraught with risks notwithstanding the profits it can be achieved given clever management.

Among the many pitfalls there is the fact that virtually all the contracts are made out in local currency and subject to considerable fluctuation, especially if a project extends over a number of years.

Many countries also insist on fixed prices, which poses another risk due to the unpredictability of inflation rates.

A major German company is said to have escaped serious trouble recently only because the Arab principals were generous enough to agree to a review and upward adjustment of the original price.

But these are not all the pitfalls which also include language difficulties and problems with the laws of the country concerned, unreliable local suppliers and inadequately trained labour.

Moreover, many foreign parties to contracts use all kinds of business tricks. Thus, for instance, urgently needed equipment is held up by customs for weeks, frequently deliberately and at the instigation of the principal in order that the delivery time should be exceeded and contractually agreed penalties paid.

It is thus not surprising that only major companies with the necessary administrative apparatus can cope with such problems. Moreover, many of the projects such as airports, railroads, power stations and dams involve enormous sums of money which are out of reach for any but the biggest companies.

Frequently, when smaller firms try their hand at this business they burn their fingers, as in the case of a Bremen company that undertook to build apartment houses in Algeria.

The commercial risks are augmented by political uncertainties, as borne out by the Iranian example. Construction activities of German companies in that country differ widely. While work on the nuclear power station in Bushhr seems to be proceeding swiftly, other construction sites have been abandoned. But this development is not all that dangerous because many companies have obtained insurance from the government-owned Hermes Export Insurance Corporation as a precaution, which Beton- und Monierbau felt it could forego for its Nigerian project, much to its chagrin.

Helmut Maier-Mannhart
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 May 1979)

■ ENVIRONMENT

Environmental protection not too costly, does not distort competition

The OECD was one of the first international organisations to devote serious attention to environmental protection.

This could well be due to the fact that the bureaucracy of such organisations is constantly in search of international problems that can only be solved by a common effort.

In this case, however, it is possible that another motive played a part. The OECD recognised the danger of pollution - a danger of incalculable dynamism - and feared that this could undermine the very foundations of affluence.

Ten years ago, the OECD began working out common guidelines for the environmental protection policy of its industrialised member nations.

These guidelines were to relieve the OECD countries and their business corporations of the necessity (and the temptation) to keep their prices low despite fierce competition for export

markets by dumping industrial waste on the environment.

The conference of OECD environment ministers, which closed in Paris recently, had the first environment report of the organisation's secretariat as a basis for discussion.

After ten years seeking common guidelines, the report now describes the environmental situation of the individual member nations. The picture is not favourable, but it would be considerably worse were it not for systematic environmental protection policies by the member nations.

It is interesting to see how certain indicators of pollution vary from country to country without a link with economic developments being discernible. After all, the foremost question for the OECD is: What effect do anti-pollution measures have on growth and employment?

Thus, for instance, sulphur dioxide (SO₂) emission resulting from the combustion of fossil fuel has diminished in

ty for coal, he went on, was tantamount to the construction of numerous coal-fired power stations, the old ones with their high pollution having to be replaced.

Disused old mines and industrial sites are to be used again.

The industrial sites will be placed at the disposal of manufacturing firms or used for housing and recreation centres. A real estate fund of DM500 million is to be created to this end.

Johannes Rau vowed to combat pollution and save energy.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 9 May 1979)

Four of these five billion will be raised by North Rhine-Westphalia itself. Bonn will provide the remaining billion, DM500 million of it to combat unemployment.

According to Herr Rau's six-point programme coal and steel will have priority.

As for the high rate of unemployment and the continuing depopulation of the once populous region between Krefeld and Hamm, Herr Rau said: "We would like the people who developed this area to enjoy living here and to stay; and we would like to attract young people."

The Castrop-Rauxel conference was attended by the entire North Rhine-Westphalia cabinet, Bonn Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer, the chairmen of important corporations and the major banks plus leading representatives of management and the trade unions.

Only two women attended - Bonn Health Minister Antje Huber and North Rhine-Westphalia's Justice Minister Inge Donnep - although women in the Ruhr area are particularly at a disadvantage and disproportionately affected by the lack of jobs.

Promotion of technologically sophisticated and novel products in the Ruhr area is to be stepped up to improve industrial structure.

But Herr Rau gives priority to coal and coal processing technologies such as vaporisation and liquefaction. Steel production is also to be increased.

The Ruhr area, Herr Rau said, should become Germany's energy centre. Prior-

OECD countries with particularly high growth rates (between 1965 and 1975).

In economically stagnating nations, on the other hand, SO₂ emission has increased.

SO₂ emission in Portugal in 1975 was three times as high as in Japan and in France it was twice as high as in the United States.

The reasons are simple: Poor countries are forced to use cheap coal with a high SO₂ content while Japan can afford to use higher quality coal and low SO₂ content oil. It can also afford purification installations.

The clearly reduced SO₂ emission in virtually all industrialised countries in the past five years is the direct result of more stringent legislation.

This, the report says, did not lead to distortions of competition nor did polluting industries move to sites where environmental legislation was less strict, as many had feared.

There are few instances of capital having gone to developing countries only because of their lax environmental legislation. In fact, environmental policy has had little bearing on the flow of investment among the technically highly developed countries.

Generally, the report states, reality differs widely from the theory that environmental protection is of necessity costly and stifles production.

The past decade has proved that the possibility of improving the environment through technological progress is greater than assumed.

Anti-pollution legislation frequently forces industry to make use of energy-saving technologies, ultimately reducing production costs.

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The Saudis hold German work in high regard.

But the Germans not only supply highly sophisticated technology, they also - though in isolated cases only - lapse into bad conduct.

Says Reinhard Schlagintweit, Germany's ambassador to Saudi Arabia: "The three crooks who tried to pinch DM 3 million from Philipp Holzmann AG are better known in this country than I am. Everybody was surprised to learn that even Germans have their scoundrels."

Anatol Johansen
(Die Welt, 9 May 1979)

able to give exact figures on redundancies due to environmental protection measures.

A survey of cutbacks in production and shut-downs due to anti-pollution legislation shows that some 5,000 people lost their jobs between 1971 and 1978. But environment policy effects were only one factor in the decision to discontinue operations.

The author does not, however, exclude the possibility that more stringent legislation in the future could lead to an increased number of shut-downs.

The relocation of production sites abroad due to environmental protection regulations is minimal in this country. Relocation decisions are influenced by other considerations.

The generally positive effects of our environmental policy must be viewed in close connection with present economic conditions, marked by inadequately used production capacities and restraint by industrial investors. In this situation, the relatively sustained development of environmental protection investments by industry and the public sector tends to stabilise demand, improve the use of production capacities and have a beneficial effect on employment.

The market for environmental protection goods is no longer a neglected economic factor. For the future, the author calls for long-term development policy to enable business to include these elements in its calculations.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 May 1979)

Almost 18,000 people worked full-time in the environmental protection sector of industry in 1975.

According to the study, the public sector employed 37,300 people in the overall complex of waste removal and sewage in the same year.

On top of this, 21,100 environmental protection experts worked in the public sector in 1976. The author expects this figure to rise to 25,000 by 1980.

Overall employment in environmental protection in 1975 is estimated at 200,000, and is expected to rise to 250,000 by 1980.

These are minimum figures because they do not include the export of environmental protection goods and certain acceleration factors.

The study compares the positive effects with possible negative results due to increased spending in this sector. Herr Sprenger concludes that for some 75 per cent of the firms he reviewed this cost factor is negligible.

There is no distortion of competition because of cost increases resulting from environmental protection. In any event, reduction of competitiveness due to anti-pollution legislation cannot be tracked down exactly because numerous factors enter the picture. So it is impos-

Conservation creates jobs, report says

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(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 May 1979)

Weinrich

Verspenning Ruit & Jodelal

Echt verspenning Ritzenlade

GOLDEN RITS

Echt verspenning Ritzenlade

THE ARTS

Hamburg features Flaxman in 'Art around 1800' cycle

The Hamburg Kunsthalle is now holding an exhibition of the work of the English painter and designer John Flaxman (1755-1826). It is the eighth in the Kunsthalle's series of exhibitions on "Art around 1800."

The attention of the Kunsthalle organizers was drawn to Flaxman partly by remarks made by the German painter Runge, whose works were exhibited as part of the same series in 1977. Runge, a great admirer of Flaxman's work, wrote: "I think with tears of Flaxman's designs."

Flaxman, who was celebrated and honored during his lifetime, was more or less forgotten by the beginning of the 20th century. The renewed interest in nineteenth century art and its influence on modernism means that there is now a long overdue reappraisal of Flaxman's work — and it also casts an interesting light on an interpretation of art which did not really come to the fore until the 20th century.



John Flaxman's self-portrait

The Kunsthalle exhibition, which is being held in conjunction with the Fine Arts Department of the British Council, contains over 250 of Flaxman's works, including valuable works on loan from the Queen and 70 works showing the strong influence of leading English neo-classicists.

The sequences of illustrations, sculptures, drawing, gravestone, medal and coin designs and designs of everyday objects and adornments are divided thematically and give the completest overview of Flaxman's work ever shown in this country.

Flaxman, whose knowledge of antiquity came mainly from his reading of the classics, especially of Homer, studied at the Academy, mainly under Stothard and Blake. In 1775 he took a post as porcelain designer for the famous Wedgwood company, where he stayed for twelve years. After a seven-year stay in Rome, he was offered the first professorship of sculpture at the Royal Academy. Flaxman's pure line style was influenced by the masters of the Renaissance,

Egyptian art, Gothic sculpture and even Indian miniatures — but mainly by the collection of classical Greek vases which Sir William Hamilton brought to London in 1772.

Works such as the Jasper vase depicting the Apotheosis of Homer (1778) refer directly to Hamilton's writings on his collection, but the two-dimensional figures of Greek vase painting become three dimensional here thanks to the white reliefs.

Flaxman went further in his interpretation of the Greek pictorial world in his pure line drawing and engravings to illustrate the works of Homer, Dante and Aeschylus. The formal genesis of these works can be followed by studying incomplete versions rejected by the artist. Here the three dimensional appearance of the objects is not only reduced but so to speak eliminated.

The pure contours of these illustrations which so delighted Flaxman's contemporaries seem to have transcended

all sensuous and emotional elements. One need only compare them with the narrative intensity of prints by other artists in this exhibition — for example with those of B. Genelli — to realize how rigorously cold and economical they are. This attempt to achieve extreme abstraction gives Flaxman's work affinities with modern movements such as constructivism (Mondrian). It is probably no coincidence that Flaxman, like the constructivists, did not shrink from applied art. His industrial designs for Wedgwood underpin his claim to be the first designer of the industrial age. Splendid vases and a rum vessel of black basalt were designed by Flaxman in a factory in Etruria and then sent to Wedgwood. These designs could be used for mantelpieces or in miniature form, for other, decorative purposes. Flaxman then has nothing more to do with them.

Works by Delacroix, Runge and Koch underline that Flaxman's influence was also felt in France and Germany. Studies after Blake show the close connection between the inspiration of the two artists.

When it leaves Hamburg, the exhibition will go on to the Thorwaldsen Museum in Copenhagen and the Royal Academy in London.

Barbara Dietrich
(Nordwest Zeitung, 5 May 1979)



Ortes pursued by the Furies



Bodo Brinkmann and Uta-Marie Flake as Adam and Eve in Paradise Lost

(Photo: Hannes K)

Everding's attempt to redeem Penderecki

Paradise Lost

The Württemberg State Opera recently presented the German premiere of Krzysztof Penderecki's *Paradise Lost* as part of a week-long presentation of Penderecki's work. However it seems unlikely that *Paradise Lost* will get from the comparison with earlier compositions in Penderecki's *Sacra Rappresentazione*.

Stuttgart did not bring the composer's rehabilitation on this occasion. When his *Devils of Loudon* was premiered in Hamburg the response was one of bewilderment and it was not until the Stuttgart premiere, directed by Renard that its merits were recognised.

Paradise Lost was not completely convincing when first performed in Chicago last autumn. The European premiere which followed was no more than an import from the mid-West. At the time many critics, some mocking, some hoping, said that a clever director with a sense of show and stage action could rescue the rather statuesque work.

August Everding, the director of the Stuttgart premiere, certainly fits this bill but his version of *Paradise Lost*, though spectacular, finally failed to convince.

Unfortunately, Penderecki did not accept the succinct version which his biographer Christopher Fry — scriptwriter of *Ben Hur*, *Barabba* and *The Bible* — so an expert in matters biblical —

Continued on page 15

CINEMA

Schlöndorff 'Tin Drum' cuts frills but captures spirit of Grass novel

Volker Schlöndorff has now produced a film version of Günter Grass's *Tin Drum*, twenty years after the novel was first published. Grass gave his full support to this film version, even writing some of the dialogues.

The film succeeds because Schlöndorff concentrates on the world Grass describes but does not use the language Grass uses. This could not be filmed and would get in the way of the story. Schlöndorff concentrates on the reality at hand: Oskar Matzerath's childhood. He deliberately confines his attention to the child Oskar and steers well clear of the older Oskar, who is often interpreted as a mythical figure.

Oskar's intelligence is fully developed at birth. On his third birthday Oskar is given a tin drum and decides not to grow any more. Thus he dissociates himself from adults and from society and does not give a fig for any of the roles he is expected to play. Instead of this he drums violently against a strange world with his breaking voice.

This attitude of protest clearly appealed to Schlöndorff — it is relevant and typical of our age. When at the end Oskar does decide to grow a little bit more this is only because he realises that further petty refusal will get him nowhere: he is thoroughly finished with his parents, he has become an orphan by his own initiative (despite having two putative fathers) and the Third Reich is over.

Schlöndorff, once said of his films that they were "always literature which tells us about German history." This information about German history is contained in episodes in *The Tin Drum*, the structure of the book is retained in the film.

Oskar, who understands little and, in contrast to the book, comments little, is present almost all the time. "It is a parable," explains Schlöndorff in his book *Die Blechtrommel*. Tagebuch einer Verfilmung (published by Luchterhand).

"Oskar behaves egoistically, opportunistically. He has a right to — he is a child. The middle classes, on the other hand, go on behaving like children even when they are adults — irresponsible and undeniable awkwardness in his voice. Oskar is the embodiment of the middle class man, but he is not denounced as such because he is a child."

Oskar is played by twelve-year-old David Bennent, with his steely blue eyes and undeniable awkwardness in his voice. Schlöndorff has made him into a realistic figure as possible and here no doubt the work at the cutting table played an essential part, when many expensive scenes were cut out.

Here, Schlöndorff is so consistent that the filmgoer forgets the book when he sees the film.

Oskar's first passionate love experience is with a dwarf-like lady doing compulsory military service in Normandy. Logical though this scene may be from the child's perspective, it breaks the continuity, because in the second part the story of Oskar is replaced by the story of the second world war.

So the same thing must be said of the film as of the book: the ending does not achieve the same level of mastery or compression as the (longer) first part. It ends with the death of Oskar's mother.

In this part Angela Winkler — who played the title role in Schlöndorff's *Katharina Blum* and also played in his contribution to Germany in *Autumn* — creates some of the most impressive scenes in the film. Two remarkable pieces of acting are the scenes in which she breaks out into hysteria while playing the piano and that in which she eats to death on ordinary fish.

Katherine Thalbach as Maria cannot match Frau Winkler's performance. With evident but at the same time annoyingly cramped energy she sets about trying to give the film a new climax. But she fails.

Mario Adorf comes over well as a rather naive Rhenish happy soul. Charles Aznavour is moving as a Jewish toyshop owner — "His name was Marcus and he took all the toys in the world with him" when he committed suicide during the Danzig "Kristallnacht."

Because of the pressure of time the film sometimes suffers from breathlessness. Many parts are reduced by cuts to mere quotations.

On the other hand the pale performance of Andrea Ferreol, who played at the insistence of the French co-producers, was superfluous.

Schlöndorff enriched the script with a number of details: an SS man — played superbly by Ernst Jacobi — tests the rain by continuing to turn his hand which is raised for the Hitler salute; two women who have also raised their hands for the Heil Hitler unintentionally open the waltz into which Oskar with his drum has transformed a political meeting. The many Hitler salutes, hesitant and unsure at first, are not mere gimmicks but part of a realistic whole: while Oskar remains small, fascism grows.

The consequences are also present: Igor Luther's camera, ranging wide, captures the panorama of Danzig and the country roundabout.

The *Tin Drum* thus becomes a Heimat film — in the best possible sense. Here, unlike in the novel, it is the filmgoer, not the drummer who looks back and is confronted with recent German history. And Oskar or no Oskar this is no child's play.

Eberhard Seybold
(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 4 May 1979)



A scene from Hans Guttner's film "Alamany, Alamany — Germany, Germany" (Photo: Westdeutsche Rundfunk AG, Oberhausen)



David Bennent as Oskar Matzerath in The Tin Drum

(Photo: United Artists)

Oberhausen Short Film Festival — short on inspiration

This year's Oberhausen Short Film Festival was the 25th — an appropriate occasion to take a look at the state of this genre today.

Seventeen years ago the signatories of the legendary Oberhausen Manifesto signed the death certificate of "dad's cinema." "Dad's cinema is dead" they said with sweeping disdainful gestures, proclaiming that henceforward they would produce a "new kind of film."

The visitor to this year's festival cannot help asking what became of this new kind of film and concluding that the state of the short film industry is highly precarious.

The international programme of over 100 films at this year's festival underlined that the short film is not making progress. What has been threatening to happen for the past few years has now unmistakably taken place: the short film has become long — and boring. It no longer has a concept of its own.

The short film, once the medium in which new subjects, forms and talents could be tried out and which thus always managed to keep a nose ahead of cinema and television has long since been caught up by these media.

Short film-makers are of course fully aware of the present sorry state of the short film. They see more financial aid as the solution to the problems. Leaflets

were handed out during the festival calling bluntly on the various film committees who allocate subsidies to put more money into short films — and then the problem would be solved.

This is nonsense. The real cause of the short film crisis that has been going on for some years is not primarily lack of money but lack of dramaturgy, subjects and imagination. Visitors to this year's festival several times had the feeling that they were watching not a self-contained, dramatically convincing short film but a long film that had been cut down to short film size — unsatisfactory but allowed by the festival's regulations.

The second problem of short film production is its incomprehensible abandonment of its earlier very lively variety. The documentary film predominates. The experimental films on show at Oberhausen this year were little more than visual acrobatics. The quality of colour and of light is shown, but the meaning remains obscure.

The trick and cartoon films on show also failed to convince completely. The droll folkloristic parade of matchstick men so characteristic of previous years is now over and instead we are presented with insights and information about environmental protection, alienation and loneliness. Unfortunately the accusing finger, often wags far too energetically, obscuring the often correct image.

What remained in large numbers was the documentary film. Here there is a new, more tolerant climate. Gone, thank goodness, are the days when the "way to the neighbour" (for many years the motto of the Oberhausen film festival) was a one way street in which radical audiences brutally decried those who thought differently, where falsifications, as long as they served their purpose, were accepted without demur, where unreflected socialist professions of faith were greeted with uncritical jubilation and scorn was poured on liberalism and tolerance.

This welcome change of atmosphere does not mean that the films have to be varied, uncontroverted. But really it must be said that this is precisely what they were: this traditionally political film genre was mainly non-committal this time.

Of course there were a number of oddities. Continued on page 14

MEDICINE

Menopause: hormones work wonders

Frankfurter Rundschau

The span of women's fertile years has expanded enormously in the past century. Menstruation begins earlier and the menopause comes considerably later.

While in 1850 women usually had their last period at the age of 45, the average age today is 51.4, claim two Frankfurt gynaecologists. Fluctuations of 3.8 years in either direction are considered normal.

Dr Rudolf Baumann and Professor Hans-Dieter Taubert write in the medical journal *Deutsches Ärzteblatt* that a woman's period is usually determined by hereditary factors, though diet, certain environmental elements and severe illness can also play a role.

The age at which the first period occurs, the number of pregnancies and sexual activity have little bearing on the menopause.

The reason for the cessation of menstruation can be summed up as follows:

After years of fertility, the ovaries gradually stop being active, no longer respond to the gonadotrophic hormones of the pituitary glands and produce less and less oestrogens.

Curiously, the oestrogen shortage affects women in different ways: One in three has no complaints at all, while 25 per cent suffer from the menopause syndrome to differing degrees.

The main symptoms are the characteristic hot flashes due to blood vessel spasms felt as rising heat.

The two gynaecologists say that these hot flashes can last from several seconds to a few minutes. They are accompanied (in most cases) by a reddening of the breasts, the arms, the neck and the face.

As the flash subsides, many women sweat profusely. This is frequently followed by shivers of cold. The sweating can become so pronounced, especially at night, as to necessitate frequent changes of clothing and bed linen.

Progress in hormone research during the past decade has enabled doctors to successfully combat menopausal complaints.

They have a wide range of hormone compounds, enabling them to supplement the body's own hormone production and gear treatment to the condition of the individual patient.

The article in the medical journal states: "Typical menopause symptoms such as hot flashes, sweating, dizziness, accelerated heartbeat and numbness can be eliminated or at least alleviated in most cases."

Brittleness of bones and the shrinking of the genitals, which frequently impedes sexual activity, can also be cured or minimised through oestrogen treatment.

But the Frankfurt gynaecologists stress that the use of estrogens is not suitable as a cure of menopause complaints in all cases.

They particularly recommend caution when the complaints are due to psychological reasons as in cases of insomnia, nervousness, irritability, inability to concentrate and other depressive symptoms.

They write: "Oestrogens and other sex hormones should be prescribed only after a careful gynaecological examination and having made sure to exclude possible risk factors."

"To ensure regular control of the patient's condition the prescription should be after which the patient should have another checkup."

If this advice is heeded, proper estrogen treatment can enable women to weather the menopause years without complaint.

Ladislav Kuthy
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 4 May 1979)

Factory doctors discuss cancer risks at work

illness and the substance causing it can be proved beyond any doubt. As a result, the number of cancer cases clearly attributable to occupation hazard is relatively low. In 1977 it was a mere 50.

But one can assume that the real figures are much higher.

Although there are no estimates for the Federal Republic of Germany figures released by the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, based on a survey by the National Cancer Institute, can be applied to this country as well. The survey shows that at least 20 per cent of cancer cases are attributable to occupational hazards.

Obviously, these estimates have found their detractors. A committee of experts commissioned by US industry has presented a counter-survey that sheds doubts on the HEW findings.

Though the arguments presented in

A routine medical checkup of a 46-year-old chemical worker showed the man had a malignant lung tumour. Despite immediate surgery the patient died of lung cancer eight years later.

The patient had helped industrial medicine specialists in their search for possible causes of cancer by listing a wide range of chemicals with which he had had constant contact during his 25-year stint in the industry.

All these substances were highly toxic and many of them known to cause cancer, Professor H. J. Woltowitz of Gießen University told the annual congress of the German Society for Industrial Medicine in Münster.

Cancer risks at work was the main topic at the four-day congress.

The 46-year-old worker cited by Professor Woltowitz demonstrates one of the major problems.

Although he was exposed to numerous carcinogenic substances over more than two decades and was a smoker to boot, it is almost impossible to prove the actual cause of cancer even if this seems obvious.

Cancer is only recognised as an occupational disease if the link between the

GPs ignorant on sex says doctor



Germany's general practitioners know very little about sex and are often unable to help patients seeking advice.

This is the gist of a survey carried out by Professor Klaus Pacharzina, an educationalist and lecturer on sex education at Hanover University.

100 general practitioners were asked to answer 20 questions about contraception, sex during pregnancy, hormonal treatment, the ability to experience an orgasm and impotence.

Professor Pacharzina sums up the results as follows: 50 per cent of the answers were wrong, 33 per cent were right and 17 per cent of those questioned answered "don't know."

Doctors were very well-informed on the causes of impotence ("90 per cent due to psychological causes"), but ignorant about contraception.

Although there are nine major reasons for not prescribing the Pill (for instance, liver disease), none of the 100 doctors questioned knew more than three reasons.

The next question was: From what age may the Pill be prescribed? Though the lower limit is usually 16, 40 per cent of the doctors gave the age as 18 — not for medical but for moral reasons.

The question as to when a pregnant woman should stop having sex was answered correctly and in keeping with latest medical findings by a mere 25 per cent.

51 per cent of the doctors favoured the three-month limit for abortion, only one-third were against it.

75 per cent said that women have less need for sex than men.

Says Professor Pacharzina: "This is a prejudice of the past hundred years." Only half of the doctors considered

Though the arguments presented in the counter-survey must be taken seriously, Professor Woltowitz told the Münster congress, the HEW report cannot be rejected out of hand because the counter-arguments also require careful scrutiny.

It is generally agreed today that such things as asbestos, substances used in the production of plastics, metal dust and paint additives, to mention but a few, are major risk elements.

But the are still many risks from substances not yet recognised as dangerous.

To track them down requires not only epidemiological research but above all a systematic review of all substances by means of tests and animal experiments.

The chemicals legislation now under debate provides only for the testing of new chemicals; and this has met with sharp criticism not only from the chemical workers' union but also from a number of specialists in industrial medicine. They maintain that without tests aimed at reducing the risks we will be restricted to curing damage already done.

Egmont R. Koch
(Die Welt, 4 May 1979)

the question whether people over 40 should have sex relevant.

The 100 doctors questioned are representative of doctors in all major German cities, says Professor Pacharzina.

When the survey was published in medical journal, Lower Saxony's Medical Association demanded a retraction. In the demand was withdrawn when the author offered to present his tape recordings.

Josef Schmidt
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 May 1979)

Authorities ill-prepared for major disasters—expert

This country's preparation for disasters of any kind has been termed disastrous.

The alarm was sounded on 26 April at the congress of the German Surgical Society in Munich.

A mass disaster, requiring well organised medical action, could be triggered by floods, explosions, air crashes or the transportation of dangerous goods, said Peter Versen, director of the Association of the Chemical Industry.

Only few municipalities, he said, have so far evolved contingency plans for use of hospitals and the medical profession in case of a disaster. Planning alone, he went on, was in any event insufficient. Only repeated drills could ascertain whether the rescue service would be efficient.

Emergency surgeon P. J. Birkenbaer drew attention to the transportation system, saying that exercises had shown that neither the transportation of patients and materials to the scene of a disaster nor the bringing back of injured and sick can be ensured without military help.

The number of vehicles available to first aid organisations such as the Red Cross is much too small. There is particularly a shortage of rescue vehicles the ratio to ambulances still being one to nine while a ratio of one to one is needed.

The complete lack of special all-weather vehicles makes it almost impossible to provide ambulance transport in difficult terrain and bad weather conditions.

Air transport depends virtually entirely on military help and is largely dependent on weather conditions. It therefore provides no reliable alternative to surface transportation.

There are virtually no firm agreements with the Bundeswehr on matters of organisation and logistics, nor are there any transport plans for the necessary system of one-way roads.

Reports from other countries show that they are far better organised than the Federal Republic of Germany where the entire issue has been shelved since 1945, said the president of the German Surgical Society.

Speakers from Switzerland, Israel and Canada presented the congress with valuable experiences from their countries. In the United States and in the Soviet Union, radiation biologists work hand in hand with surgeons to cope with dangers resulting from reactor accidents.

Karl Stankiewicz
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 27 April 1979)

EDUCATION

Bremen University, brave but disappointing experiment

Bremen, one of the last of the new universities founded in the sixties, always considered itself a non-traditional university — a kind of anti-university.

Here they wanted to be different from the other new universities in this country — and totally different from the ancient foundations. One reason for this was that the real work of foundation in the city-state of Bremen began in 1968, the year of the student revolt. Another was that the Bremen foundation committee consisted not only of six university teachers but also of three junior lecturers and three students.

This parity on the committee says little in itself. More important is the effect it had on the structure of the university. Assistants and students, in conjunction with reformist university teachers and, "thanks to the reform-conscious attitude of the SPD" (foundation vice-chancellor Thomas von der Vring) got their way in the end.

Von der Vring explained that the Bremen model was meant to be "the practical, viable and progressive alternative in the German university scene."

According to the present vice-chancellor Alexander Wittkowski, the main functions of the Bremen model today are:

- to seek knowledge in the interests of the working population
- to democratise the internal structure of the university
- to introduce new forms of teaching.

All these aims have, if anything, given the university of Bremen a bad reputation. Bremen was given the most opprobrious epithet — a university has ever

been given — it was described as "a university for red cadres."

The true aims of the Bremen system certainly do not justify the use of such terms. Many aspects of the Bremen reform programme already more or less exist at other universities — where no one would dream of decrying them as left wing.

What spoiled many of the good ideas which the three parties in the Bremen senate originally had in mind was that many university members wanted to go much further than they did.

This did the university more harm than good — outwardly and internally. Take for example the system of parity for students, university office personnel and university committees which applied up to about a year ago.

This system of co-determination did lead to more commitment, as co-vice-chancellor Detlev Albers positively puts it. But the dialogue with "all who work here" (Wittkowski) also had negative effects: frequent breakdowns and blockings of decisions. Assistant professor Albers formulates the problem cautiously when he says "we cannot deny that we have got a relatively complicated system of self-administration."

Then there is the Bremen project system, known as "investigative learning." This is certainly acceptable as an alternative to the usual system of teaching in

which the lecture-monologue predominates. The problem is that this new form of learning makes too high demands on the students.

Bremen also abolished the post-doctoral thesis which is normally essential for anyone who wants to get a professorship. Certainly the vaingloriousness of many a university professor has made life difficult for ambitious young lecturers. The purpose of the post-doctoral thesis certainly needs to be looked into. But in Bremen many slipped through the wide net who previously would never have made the grade.

But here another criterion for qualification applied: social commitment often counted for more than academic achievement — a fact which many Bremen professors today acknowledge off the record.

More efforts are now being made to make the political spectrum of the university teaching staff more pluralistic. But given the construction of the German Civil Service Law (West German teachers are civil servants, ed.) Bremen university will have to live with the sins of its youth for some time to come.

Founding vice-chancellor Thomas von der Vring wrote four years ago: "The central aim of the Bremen model is the binding of teaching and research to the requirements of society, especially of the mass of the population. In the final analysis

the state must formulate these requirements."

The university's achievements in this sphere were undoubtedly considerable. In 1971 Bremen university signed a cooperation agreement with the Bremen Chamber of Labour and sought close contact with the trade unions in particular.

On another occasion von der Vring formulated his views more clearly: "A society dominated by conservatism which invests large sums to maintain the status quo cannot accept a critical university. Society not unjustifiably suspects a connection between criticism and revolution." This meant that the university should display a certain distance from society and use a "strategy of resistance to the claims of the social hierarchy."

This strategy of resistance flourished most within the university of Bremen itself. Go-ins and sit-ins, strikes and boycotts, occupations and protests were often more frequently on the timetable than normal lectures and seminars.

There were also structural weaknesses in the personnel sphere. Vring's idea was for a "cooperative teachers' collective" of which professors and assistant professors would be members — but not junior lecturers and scientific assistants.

Professors in the natural sciences were particularly hard hit here. With only one assistant they can hardly carry out complex experiments. Economics lecturer Dvoratschek said that this was to prevent people putting on professorial airs but that in the process taboos had arisen which there was a reluctance to touch. He added: "This taboo creation means that there is immobility even in a university of reform. Heinz Verfürth
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 5 May 1979)

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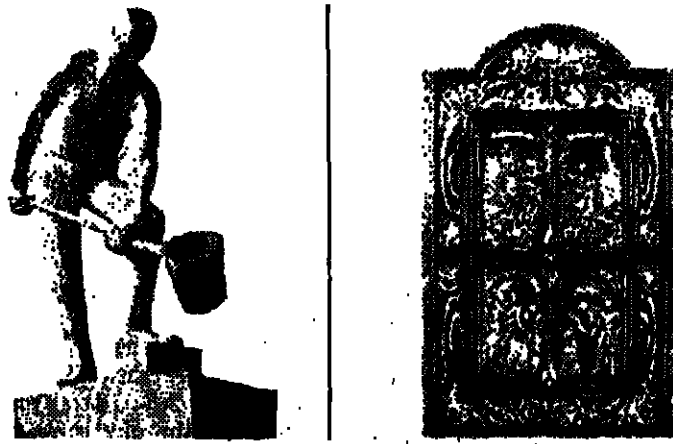
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■ SOCIETY

Ford pioneers 'running in' scheme for work-shy juveniles

One are the days when companies were glad to get enough apprentices to train as skilled workers.

A firm with a good reputation and recognised performance in training can today choose the best from a great number of applicants for apprenticeships.

What has prompted such a major company as the Cologne Ford works to include drop-outs, the psychologically unstable and those unable to speak German in its training programme?

This question was dealt with recently at a seminar of international experts organised by the Aspen Institute in Berlin where the main topic was youth unemployment.

Dr. Welzel, the head of Ford's training department, gave the same answer as has been given by other companies that have included drop-outs in their training programmes: social responsibility.

Film festival

Continued from page 11

very worthwhile films, such as *Giovanni und Ripalda*, a very human, compelling and at times almost cheerful but ultimately tragic portrait of two outsiders, by the Italian director Orazio Costa, or the social reportage from an Egyptian children's hospital *Urgent to everyone*. These were not just cheaply produced appeals to human compassion, nor merely passive depictions of reality but dialectical interpretations of reality with the aid of the camera.

Films such as these were the rare exceptions to the rule. Otherwise the emphasis was on excursions into the distant and exotic or retreats into inwardness and the past. There was a lot of glossy stuff on other countries. But the short film — a medium ideally suited to grasp and present subjects quickly — had little to say about such urgent current issues as atomic energy, terrorism and unemployment — and when it did what it said failed to convince.

So-called portraits or psychogrammes, which mostly remained tediously on the surface, were particularly popular — for example the GDR film *Martha*, by Jürgen Böttcher. Martha Bieder is one of those women who rolled up her sleeves and worked hard to rebuild her country after the war. She shifted rubble, worked hard and made a modest new life for herself. Why not make such a woman the personification of a period of recent history? The camera accompanies, or rather pursues Martha wherever she goes — to work, and to her coffee-table, where some younger colleagues listen to her reminiscences of the tough post-war years: the whole thing is filmed using the unimaginative technique of the ordinary television interview. Here as in most such portrait films the optical impression was almost irrelevant. What was interesting was the script, and this could have been presented in the form of a radio play without any great loss.

Despite a few shafts of light the films at this year's Oberhausen festival were on the whole mediocre. The knives that were used to attack were often simply too blunt.

Uta Cote
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 May 1979)

But then Dr. Welzel elaborated, coming up with the surprising statement that Ford's training programme was preparing for the situation that will prevail in five years, when companies — due to the low birth rate years after 1967 — will have to accept many unqualified juveniles as apprentices.

Those familiar with birth rates and the fact that the seven million children born between 1961 and 1967 were followed by those born in the subsequent years when annual birth rates declined from 800,000, to 700,000 and finally to 600,000 will realise that a radical change must ensue from 1985 onward when these children are ready to leave school.

The Ford training programme for particularly endangered juveniles has had a most unusual approach from the very beginning.

Ford tried recruiting drop-outs from the local labour exchanges, but could not find enough candidates. So notices were put up at recreation homes for juveniles and at discotheques.

This was successful, and more juveniles reported to Ford than the company could absorb, which seems to indicate that the number of unlisted jobless among young people is much greater than statistics would make us believe.

Ford operated on the following assumption: These juveniles, who had grown tired of school due to lack of success, had a distaste for any form of training that even vaguely resembled life at school.

Therefore, instead of sending them to training shops, Ford let them start work

immediately. This presupposed a close relationship between the supervising skilled worker and the apprentice. Each youngster had a person he could relate to, and there was one foreman to every five apprentices.

Since every juvenile was to familiarise himself with eight different types of work, they also had to relate to different people.

To enable the young people to get to know each other, and those who would in the future be looking after them, training began with a week spent in a youth hostel.

When the programme started, Ford found that many of these youngsters, aged between 16 and 18, were physically as strong and developed as 20-year-olds. But, like 12-year-olds, they were unable to stay put and work for 30 minutes at a time.

These drop-outs, who had failed at every previous application for an apprenticeship due to their inability to write, read and do the most simple of arithmetic, had to be familiarised with concentrated work in a roundabout way: by art lessons for which the Ford company hired a Waldorf teacher.

The programme began in December 1978 with the training of 67 drop-outs, of whom 52 are still with the company. It turned out that the quota of those who did not stick with the job was particularly small among those who had enjoyed the art classes.

The pleasure in creative work promoted the ability to concentrate, the desire to perform well and self-confidence.

Only three days of the five-day work week are devoted to actual work. One day a week is set aside for community programmes: half for art work and the other half for discussion and sport.

Another day is devoted to vocational school. But there, too, the Ford company is very careful in re-establishing contact with school. To start with, the vocational school teacher comes to the works to engage the youngsters in discussion.

The starting pay is DM450 a month, rising to DM780 towards the end of the one-year training course.

The state pays a DM3,000 subsidy for each of the trainees, another DM4,000 for each of the permanent employees. The company also pays DM8,000 on his acceptance as an apprentice.

Ford intends to accept all participants as permanent staff and hopes that 10 per cent will qualify for an apprenticeship by the end of the year.

The company also wants to attempt to reintegrate juvenile delinquents. It intended to arrange a one-week Baltic cruise aboard an ocean-going sailing vessel in the course of which the juveniles are to learn to handle the ship and to understand that they depend on each other and that disciplined cooperation is a must.

Naturally, there has already been some criticism from youngsters serving a normal apprenticeship to whom no such privileges have been offered.

But Dr. Welzel points out that the programme provides them with a head start while the drop-outs have first to be taught the basics that will enable them to become apprentices.

There was, incidentally, an unexpected side effect: Regular workers found more pleasure in their work by dealing with the youngsters.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 5 May 1979)

Better schools for foreign children plea

Measures to motivate parents and children should be introduced. These should include:

a) reducing exaggerated expectations; b) eliminating the parents' material interest in having their children earn as much as possible as soon as possible; and

c) control of parents while children undergo the various stages of education.

Eberhard von Brauchitsch counters the contention that ethnic, cultural and above all language difficulties have hitherto prevented a deeper understanding between foreigners and Germans by pointing out that one in 15 inhabitants of this country is a foreigner and that there are therefore many opportunities to meet them and improve relations at work, in the neighbourhood grocery store or at school.

Institutionalised meeting places should also be used more. Important prerequisites for mutual understanding, he said, were the willingness of all segments of the population to talk to foreigners and the latter's ability to speak German.

So far, however, neither of these prerequisites has been adequately met. Especially efforts to make foreigners learn to speak German fluently must be

stepped up because no understanding can be achieved without a common language.

Asked whether the problem of unemployment in this country could be solved by sending the workers and their families home, Herr von Brauchitsch said that there were many branches of business that would have to cut back their production or services severely if they had to manage without foreign workers because there were not enough Germans to take their places. This would result in dire consequences for the national economy and our standard of living and would limit growth.

It must also be borne in mind that, despite unemployment, there is a shortage of skilled workers in many areas and that our industry is sorely in need of them.

As soon as this demand can be met — and this applies in equal measure to foreign and German workers — there will no longer be any joblessness.

Since one in 15 inhabitants is a foreigner, the Federal Republic of Germany has acquired a European dimension, said Eberhard von Brauchitsch, when asked about the overall European perspective of the employment of foreign labour.

In the past, people came to machines to find work. In future, however, this process will be reversed, and this will change Europe's economic structure, representing an important step towards a politically and economically united Europe.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 4 May 1979)

■ OUR WORLD

Bonn garden show opened at last after decade of headline-hitting mishaps

President Walter Scheel recently opened the National Horticulture Exhibition in the Rheinauenpark in Bonn. The exhibition lasts until October 21 of this year.

The Rheinauenpark is a highly controversial and expensive project. Originally estimated to cost DM23 million, it is now estimated to cost DM60 million. And it is going to cost even more.

Paradise Lost

Continued from page 10

gested to him for John Milton's poetic opus.

The music begins with a threatening organ point like a paraphrase of Rhein-gold and throughout the evening the Wagnerianism is faithfully maintained — even in a Lohengrin quotation when Adam gives the swan its name.

Penderecki only rarely gets to the point and convinces by his intensity, all too often we are merely presented with formal self-quotation, static concentrations of sound.

There is a magnificent quotation of Bach, when Christ asks his father for mercy for mankind and man's transiency is demonstrated to the banished Adam — here Penderecki contrapuntally uses the Dies Irae, and Everding makes the stage choir stand up — a tribute to the better music?

Everding relies on pictorial effects but he cannot always fill the stage set and huge projection area — designed by Günther Schneider-Siemssens — with the requisite sureness of taste.

The high-point of the performance was when Everding himself spoke over the loudspeakers — as the voice of God.

So all that remained in Stuttgart was appreciation of a solid performance by the ensemble. Uta-Maria Flake and Bodo Brinkmann in their carefully disguised nakedness were a convincing Adam and Eve. The orchestra, conducted by Janos Kulka, was brilliantly prepared and well up to its task. The premiere audience survived the long hours bravely and clapped loudly for the performers and the composer at the end. But then who is going to boo the Creation?

Rainer Wagner

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 6 May 1979)

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came the exceptionally severe winter of 1978/1979, which brought snow, ice and floods and upset planning even further.

Acts of God and planning errors are not the only reasons why the project has several times been on the verge of bankruptcy — as Walter Scheel also pointed out in his speech.

When this "representative green centre" (in the words of Minister of Agriculture Erli) was being laid out, the city council did not fence off the park adequately. It was thus easily accessible and the result was damage amounting to millions of Deutschmarks. Vandals cut tents and stole valuable trees, shrubs, huge numbers of roses and rare water plants.

Referring to this vandalism, Walter Scheel said: "These are not mere trivial offences." Walter Scheel said he did not want to pass over these "unhappy facts" in his opening speech. This must have pleased the city's chief administrator, Karl Heinz van Kaldenkerken, who is pleased that criminality in Bonn has not yet reached alarming levels.

The fact that the Horticulture Exhibition consistently got a bad press until the city's chief administrator took over

the management also had its positive side. The city saved the price of many advertisements because the articles in most newspapers brought enough publicity.

Now, at the start of the exhibition, this is all more or less forgotten. In his opening speech Walter Scheel said: "Bonn, situated in one of the most beautiful parts of the country, is now even more beautiful." Herr Scheel deliberately did not mention the skyscrapers of the government Ministries in his eulogy.

Eghard Möritz
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 April 1979)

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Scientists at the Erlangen Institute of Botany and Pharmaceutical Biology are working on a project which must be unique in the world — a "fantasy garden of a thousand scents."

The people of Erlangen in Bavaria will be able to enjoy a symphony of delightful fragrances from all over the world in a two-and-a-quarter-acre garden. Their nostrils will thus be able to recover from the exhaust fumes and generally polluted air of the city.

There will, however, be some dissonances between the fragrances: lilies and poisonous lilies of the valley will mingle their odours with the strong scent of garlic plants because according to the botanical system of classification they belong to the same family.

(Die Welt, 8 May 1979)



A bird's eye view of Bonn's garden show

(Photo: dpa)

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